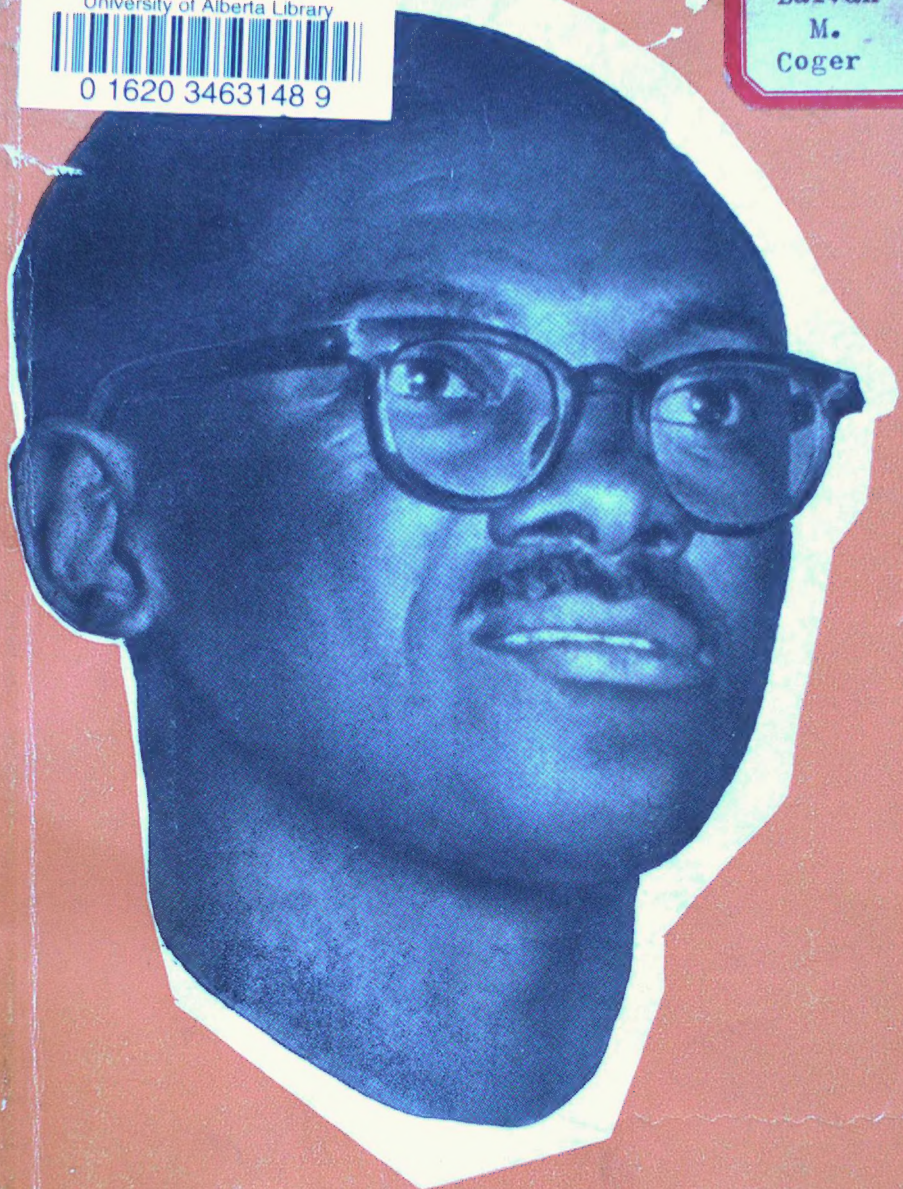


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PATRICE LUMUMBA

Fighter for Africa's Freedom



PATRICE LUMUMBA

FIGHTER FOR AFRICA'S FREEDOM

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БОРЕЦ ЗА СВОБОДУ АФРИКИ

КНИГА О ПАТРИСЕ ЛУМУМБЕ

На английском языке

CONTENTS

Introduction	4
Chapter I. Patrice Lumumba	5
Chapter II. Lumumba Speaks for the Congo	15
Chapter III. An Unforgettable Personality	71
Chapter IV. How the Crime Was Perpetrated	114
Chapter V. Soviet Union, True Friend of the Congo	158

PATRICE LUMUMBA

INTRODUCTION

This is a collection of speeches and letters by Patrice Lumumba, reminiscences of meetings with the fearless fighter for Africa's freedom, and official documents. It tells the truth of the criminal colonialist plot in the Congo and exposes the fabrications of the colonialists about Lumumba himself and about the national-liberation movement headed by him.

Patrice Lumumba is dead. But his numerous followers are continuing the struggle. They are inspired by the vivid image of Patrice Lumumba, who did not spare his life for the happiness of his people, for the freedom of Africa.

Patrice Lumumba has entered the history of Africa as the national hero of the Congo, the standard-bearer of the liberation of his country from colonial oppression, and a courageous statesman with lofty principles. By stirring his people to determined action against the combined forces of the colonialists, he took his place in the front ranks of fighters for the national independence, freedom and happiness of the African peoples.

His life as a fighter, tribune and revolutionary prepared him for his role of leader and spokesman of his people's aspirations.

Patrice Emery Lumumba was born on July 2, 1925, in the village of Onalua, Kasai Province, the Congo. His parents were Batetela. His father wanted him to be a teacher in a Catholic school and sent him to a small Catholic mission school in Katako-Kombe. The boy showed a great capacity for learning and soon attracted the attention of Protestant missionaries who ran a school training surgeon's assistants in the same town. They persuaded Patrice to go over to their school. At thirteen Patrice became a Protestant and began studying medicine.

Two years later he left the school without receiving his graduation certificate. To be more exact, the Protestant missionaries themselves were glad to be rid of a pupil who was much too inquisitive for their liking. Patrice found study easy and wanted to know more than the

school could teach him. He avidly read Voltaire, Rousseau, Victor Hugo and Molière, and also modern authors. The thirst for knowledge awakened in him early in life, and he eagerly buried himself in the world of books. There were many questions he wanted answered, but they were not the type of questions his teachers were willing to discuss with an African, much less with one of their own pupils. Patrice's relations with the missionaries deteriorated and he left the school.

At fifteen, a tall, thin, slightly stoop-shouldered lad, he went to Kindu, a town in the north of Katanga Province. But like many other people who migrated to the town, all he found were "No Help Wanted" notices on the doors of factories and offices. He had not a sou in his pocket, and had great difficulty finding a job in a mine.

Those were years when Europe was enveloped in the flames of World War II and the Allies required large quantities of strategic materials. Increasing numbers of workers flocked to Kindu where the great deposits of tin and other minerals were giving rise to a swiftly growing mining industry. In the town Lumumba came into contact with people who not only slaved in the mines but were also interested in books and self-education. A "circle of the educated" was organised with Lumumba as one of its leaders.

He continued with his reading, followed world developments, studied sociology and began to write. In the beginning he tried his hand at poetry, but his first poems were weak. Then he went over to journalism, writing articles and reports that were published by newspapers in Leopoldville. However, it was soon brought to the notice of the newspaper publishers, most of whom were from Catholic circles, that the contributions from the young Lumumba demanded many improvements for the Congolese people. Back in 1948 Lumumba wrote: "Why do some white people treat their dogs better than their Negro servants?"

Lumumba's articles found an enthusiastic response among progressives. In those years he was one of the few Congolese who openly criticised the colonial regime in the Congo.

After living in Kindu for some years, he decided to move to one of the big towns where he would have more scope for his work and greater opportunities to receive an education. By a happy coincidence he found employment with the Post Office in Leopoldville. By that time he was married to Pauline Opanga, a girl he met in his student years.

After he finished the Leopoldville school for Post Office employees he was sent to work in Stanleyville, the capital city of Orientale Province. He was first manager of the Post Office branch in the village of Yangambi, near Stanleyville, and was then transferred to the Post Office in the city itself.

In Stanleyville his views as a fighter for the independence and freedom of the Congo took final shape. He quickly won respect and became the recognised leader of the progressives in the city. He was elected President of the Association of Native Personnel of the Belgian Congo (ANPBC) in Stanleyville and chairman of the "circle of the educated". Many friends and people sharing his views, who later formed the nucleus of his party, gathered at his home.

In those years, like many of his associates, Lumumba saw clearly that modern colonialism, masked flimsily by demagoguery about "civilisation", was nothing but bald slavery. The unbearable conditions of life, the humiliation and persecution, and the brutal exploitation of the population by foreigners roused the progressives in the country to begin a struggle for their rights, for the Congo's liberation from the colonial yoke. Many big strikes were staged in the Congo in the post-war years. In 1945 a general strike of port workers in Matadi brought the workers their first major gain—the possibility, even if it was only a limited

one, of forming trade unions. Anti-colonial slogans were put forward by the miners' strikes in 1949-50 and by the big strike of workers and office employees in Leopoldville in 1952. The liberation movement in the country grew and became stronger, shaking the foundations of the colonial regime.

The political consciousness of the advanced sections of Congolese society grew swiftly as the general movement of the African peoples for freedom and independence gained strength. The middle of the present century has become a period of the collapse of colonial rule in Africa. The myth that the Western civilisers worked for the good of the African people has been completely exploded.

For decades the colonialists had been building up the myth that the Congo was a "flourishing colony", a patriarchal corner of Africa, where the "natives" and the "enlightened" Belgian and other industrialists and planters were living in harmony. Naturally, it was never mentioned that the salary of a Belgian employee of a Belgian concern averaged about 500,000 francs a year, while a Congolese working in the mines run by the same concern was called a "highly paid" worker if he received 15,000 francs a year, which was the maximum he could get.

Neither was anything ever said of the size of the profits the foreign monopolies were pumping out by exploiting the country's natural wealth. But colonial propaganda was unable to conceal the fact that monopoly capital had turned the Congo into its own private domain, into a source of colossal superprofits. Five monopoly groups shared the Congo's riches among themselves, controlling nearly 90 per cent of the investments. Belgian capital played the dominating role, but the imperialists of other countries, primarily of Britain and the U.S., took an active part in the looting.

O. P. Gilbert's eloquently titled book *The Empire of Silence*, published in Brussels in 1947 and banned in the Congo, was read secretly by progressive Congolese. It

gave a vivid and merciless picture of colonial oppression in the Congo. "In one way or another," the author wrote, "the mines, factories, plantations, transport and commercial firms belong to the Société Generale and some other trusts. These trusts are states within a state, and each of their provincial branches is a state within a province. At their beck and call they have thousands of white engineers and foremen, and tens of thousands of black workers. They have an efficient police force and an alert propaganda machine. They finance everything and operate everywhere as masters. . . . They deal in everything, chiefly in human labour."

Lumumba studied the wealth of facts and figures and the profound analysis of the situation in the Congo given in this book. He had experienced the barbarity and tyranny of colonial life in which the slave labour of hundreds of thousands of Congolese was building up fabulous fortunes for a handful of multimillionaires. With the passion of a tribune, a people's fighter, he came out against the colonial orders and called his people to an active struggle for their rights.

The colonial authorities found Lumumba's growing influence among the people disquieting and in 1956 they framed an embezzlement charge against him and sentenced him to 18 months' imprisonment. The Stanleyville population gave Lumumba all the support it could, organising a campaign of solidarity with him.

Upon his release from prison in June 1957, he moved to Leopoldville, where he was offered a job with a large beer and soft drinks firm. This job enabled him to travel about the capital's suburbs, meet many people, and keep abreast of their mood and aspirations and to be informed of the real situation. His natural ability as an orator and his extensive erudition quickly made him a popular figure in Leopoldville and its environs.

He became active in the capital's political life, becoming chairman of the Batetela Federation and attending

the meetings of the Liberal Party. But this activity no longer satisfied him. By this time he had firm political aims: the abolition of colonial slavery and immediate independence for the Congo. The Congo belonged to its people, not to the colonialists.

In this period Lumumba worked hard to form a new political party. He was clear about the nature of this party. It had to be an *all-Congolese* party founded on a unity of views among its members and not on a community of tribal interests. For the Congo this was a fundamentally *new and revolutionary* principle. Suffice it to recall that the Kasavubu-led Abako Party, which was founded in 1950 on the basis of the Bakongo group of tribes, was a closed ethnical organisation. More than anything else, it met the requirements of the colonial administration, which did its utmost to foster racial discord and thereby divide the Congolese people into warring factions. Belgian colonialism energetically followed the policy of "divide and rule" in its struggle against the Congolese people's aspiration for freedom and independence.

Having risen above racial and tribal prejudices and called upon the *entire* people to fight for independence, Lumumba won tremendous popularity and prestige among the Congolese people. The force of his influence was felt not only in Africa but also beyond her boundaries. Here, for example, is what the British *Foreign Report* wrote about Lumumba:

"Hard-working, physically courageous and a charmer, his strength is that he is the only genuinely nationalist, anti-tribal and anti-regional Congolese leader. . . . Mr. Lumumba seems to be the only Congolese politician with the necessary ambition and qualities to hold the Congo together as a unitary state."

The year 1958 was marked by a political event of great significance for the Congo. The establishment of the Congo National Movement (CNM), a party founded and headed by Patrice Lumumba, was proclaimed in Stanleyville in

the autumn of that year. Its programme, adopted at the Constituent Congress on October 10, 1958, stated that the CNM would oppose regional egocentrism and tribal demarcation, that it would work for the political education of the people in order to prepare them for self-determination. The programme demanded unconditional independence and basic democratic freedoms for the Congolese people. An important point of the programme was the demand for the setting up of a single, centralised state after independence had been won.

Lumumba and the CNM did not limit themselves to the proclamation of a slogan of consistent struggle against colonialism in the Congo. They appealed to all the African peoples for fraternal solidarity. As soon as the CNM was organised it established close contact with the liberation movement in the whole of Africa. Lumumba himself was the Congolese delegate to the African People's Conference in Accra in December 1958. He was elected to the Conference's Standing Committee.

Dramatic events took place in Leopoldville after his return from Accra. On January 4, 1959, he was scheduled to speak about the work of the Conference at a rally in the capital. But alarmed by the scale of the national-liberation movement, the Belgian authorities banned the rally. In spite of this thousands of people formed into columns and marched to the appointed place. The Belgian-officered police barring their way opened fire. . . .

The Congolese population of Leopoldville answered the shots of the colonialists with a general uprising and strike. Police stations were captured and the Belgian and Portuguese shops and offices in the African districts were set on fire. Fighting raged for three days. The city's business life came to a complete standstill. This spontaneous indignation developed into a unanimous demand for independence.

The pressure brought to bear by the people forced the colonialists to make concessions. On January 13, King

Baudouin of Belgium gave the people of the Congo a vague assurance they would be granted independence.

Lumumba and his supporters redoubled their efforts. Now they demanded immediate independence. Lumumba toured many districts and towns, organising meetings and rallies and setting up provincial and district committees of his party. It was a triumphant tour. Even in Elisabethville, stronghold of the Union Minière and its offspring, the pro-colonial Conakat Party headed by the puppet Tshombe, Lumumba spoke successfully at a rally and his hearers actively showed their dislike of Tshombe.

In this period the principal thesis of Lumumba's speeches was immediate and unconditional independence for the Congo. He reaffirmed this thesis at a congress of Congolese political parties in Luluaburg in April 1959. His persevering attempts to get the congress to adopt the demand for immediate independence and the setting up of a Congolese government on January 1, 1961, were rewarded. The congress unanimously sided with him.

A congress of the Congo National Movement Party was convened in Stanleyville in October 1959. Led by Lumumba, the congress adopted a resolution demanding that Congolese and Belgian representatives meet without delay to discuss the immediate granting of independence to the Congo. Among other resolutions was one of the Africanisation of personnel. The determined CNM demands alarmed the Belgian colonial authorities and they deliberately provoked disorders. Troops officered by Belgians fired on a crowd of Congolese, causing casualties in killed and wounded. A few days later Lumumba was charged with "instigating" an uprising and thrown into prison.

But repressions could not halt the swiftly growing movement of the Congolese people for independence. Far from frightening the people, Lumumba's arrest only stirred them to resolute action.

Faced with pressure from the progressive forces of the Congo and with the growth of the nation-wide demand

for immediate independence, the Belgian Government named the end of January 1960 as the date for a "round-table" conference, for negotiations with Congolese political leaders on the terms on which independence would be granted, and on the Constitution and structure of the future state.

Lumumba was in prison. On January 18 he was handcuffed and secretly flown from Stanleyville to Jadotville, an important industrial centre in Katanga and a major Union Minière bastion. The Belgian colonial authorities planned to hold the "round-table" conference without Lumumba. But this was a vain hope, for no question linked up with the Congo's future could now be decided without him. Exactly two days after he was transferred to Jadotville, he was again put in a plane under guard and flown to Brussels, where the negotiations had already been started.

A very motley delegation represented the Congolese side at the conference. The Belgians took pains to weigh the progressive leaders down with heavy ballast in the shape of "moderates". Of the 81 Congolese delegates, 22 were representatives of the National Progress Party (NPP), which was officially financed by the colonial administration and expressed its views. The Belgians hoped to dictate their own terms, but Lumumba's arrival upset their plans. The conference ended after naming June 30, 1960, as the day for proclaiming the Congo's independence.

Throughout the spring of 1960, Patrice Lumumba was busy with preparations for the election of the Congo's first parliament. Held on May 17-19, the elections brought an overwhelming victory to Lumumba's CNM, which won 34 seats in parliament, far more than any other political party in the Congo. Together with its allies, the African Solidarity Party (ASP) headed by Antoine Gizenga, the CERE, Balubakat and other parties, the CNM received a majority in parliament and Lumumba was entrusted with forming the first Congolese Government.

On June 30, 1960, a historic day for the people of the Congo, Patrice Lumumba proclaimed his country's independence. His maiden speech as Head of Government of the sovereign Republic of the Congo was received enthusiastically by the people and caused dismay and confusion in the camp of the colonialists. A true patriot and an ardent champion of his country's happiness, Patrice Lumumba declared on that day that colonial slavery had ended in the Congo for all time.

In this brief outline of Patrice Lumumba's life we said nothing about his activity as Prime Minister of the Congo or about his tragic death. Let the documents collected in this book tell the rest of the story.

CHAPTER II

LUMUMBA SPEAKS FOR THE CONGO

An active participant in the tense struggle for the Congo's national independence, Patrice Lumumba spoke frequently and had a vast correspondence. Some of the speeches and a part of his correspondence are given in this chapter.

* * *

SPEECHES, APPEALS

MY GOVERNMENT SERVES THE PEOPLE

(Speech by Patrice Lumumba at the ceremony
of the proclamation of the Congo's independence
on June 30, 1960)

Men and women of the Congo,
Victorious independence fighters,

I salute you in the name of the Congolese Government.

I ask all of you, my friends, who tirelessly fought in our ranks, to mark this June 30, 1960, as an illustrious date that will be ever engraved in your hearts, a date whose meaning you will proudly explain to your children, so that they in turn might relate to their grandchildren and great-grandchildren the glorious history of our struggle for freedom.

Although this independence of the Congo is being proclaimed today by agreement with Belgium, an amicable country, with which we are on equal terms, no Congolese will ever forget that independence was won in struggle, a persevering and inspired struggle carried on from day to day, a struggle in which we were undaunted by privation, suffering or enormous sacrifice and stinted neither strength nor blood.

It was filled with tears, fire and blood. We are deeply proud of our struggle, because it was just and noble and indispensable in putting an end to the humiliating bondage forced upon us.

That was our lot for the eighty years of colonial rule and our wounds are too fresh and much too painful to be forgotten.

We have experienced forced labour in exchange for pay that did not allow us to satisfy our hunger, to clothe ourselves, to have decent lodgings or to bring up our children as dearly loved ones deserve.

Morning, noon and night we were subjected to jeers, insults and blows because we were "Negroes". Who will ever forget that the black was addressed as *tu*, not because he was a friend, but because the polite *vous* was reserved for the white man?

We have seen our lands seized in the name of ostensibly just laws, which gave recognition only to the right of might.

We have not forgotten that the law was never the same for the white and the black, that it was lenient to the ones, and cruel and inhuman to the others.

We have experienced untold suffering, being persecuted for political convictions and religious beliefs, and, what was worse than death, exiled from our native land.

We have not forgotten that in the cities the mansions were for the whites and the tumbledown huts for the blacks; that a black was not admitted to the cinemas, restaurants and shops set aside for "Europeans"; that a

black travelled in the holds, under the feet of the whites in their luxury cabins.

Who will ever forget the shootings which killed so many of our brothers, or the cells into which were mercilessly thrown those who no longer wished to submit to the regime of injustice, oppression and exploitation used by the colonialists as a tool of their domination?

All that, my brothers, brought us incalculable suffering.

But we, who were elected by the votes of your representatives, representatives of the people, to guide our native land, we, who have suffered in body and soul from colonial oppression, we tell you that henceforth all that is finished, with.

The Republic of the Congo has been proclaimed and our beloved country's future is now in the hands of its own people.

Brothers, let us commence together a new struggle, a sublime struggle that will lead our country to peace, prosperity and greatness.

Together we shall establish social justice and ensure for every man a fair remuneration for his labour.

We shall show the world what the black man can do when he works in liberty, and we shall make the Congo the pride of Africa.

We shall see to it that the lands of our native country truly benefit its children.

We shall revise all the old laws and make them into new ones that will be just and noble.

We shall stop the persecution of free thought. We shall see to it that all citizens enjoy to the fullest extent the basic freedoms provided for in the Declaration of Human Rights.

We shall eradicate all discrimination, whatever its origin, and we shall ensure for everyone a station in life befitting his human dignity and worthy of his labour and his loyalty to the country.

We shall institute in the country a peace resting not on guns and bayonets but on concord and goodwill.

And in all this, my dear compatriots, we can rely not only on our own enormous forces and immense wealth, but also on the assistance of numerous foreign states, whose co-operation we shall accept when it is not aimed at imposing upon us an alien policy, but is given in a spirit of friendship.

Even Belgium, which has finally learned the lessons of history, has no grounds for opposing our independence, and she is prepared to give us its aid and friendship; for that end an agreement has just been signed between our two equal and independent countries. I am sure that this co-operation will benefit both countries. For our part, we shall, while remaining vigilant, try to observe the engagements we have freely made.

Thus, both in the internal and the external spheres, the new Congo being created by my Government will be rich, free and prosperous. But to attain our goal without delay, I ask all of you, legislators and citizens of the Congo, to give us all the help you can.

I ask you all to sink your tribal quarrels: they weaken us and may cause us to be despised abroad.

I ask you all not to shrink from any sacrifice for the sake of ensuring the success of our grand undertaking.

Finally, I ask you unconditionally to respect the life and property of your fellow-citizens and also of the foreigners who have settled in our country; if the conduct of these foreigners leaves much to be desired, our Justice will promptly expel them from the territory of the Republic; if, on the contrary, their conduct is good, they must be left in peace, for they, too, are working for our country's prosperity.

The Congo's independence is a decisive step towards the liberation of the whole African continent.

Our Government, a government of national and popular unity, will serve its country.

I call on all Congolese citizens, men, women and children, to set themselves resolutely to the task of creating a national economy and ensuring our economic independence.

Eternal glory to the fighters for national liberation!

Long live independence and African unity!

Long live the independent and sovereign Congo!

1960 IS OUR YEAR

(Speech by Patrice Lumumba at the opening
of the All-African Conference in Leopoldville,
August 25, 1960)

Ministers,

Ladies and gentlemen,

Dear comrades,

The fighting Congolese people are proud and happy to receive their brothers-in-arms in their country today.

For my Government, for us Congolese, your presence here at such a moment is the most striking proof of the African reality whose existence our enemies have always denied and are still attempting to deny. But you, of course, know that that reality is even more stubborn than they, and Africa lives on and fights. She refuses to die to justify the arguments about the backwardness of our history, a history we have made with our hands, our skins and our blood.

It is at conferences such as this that we first became conscious of our personality, of our growing solidarity. When at our first conferences, which were held in various cities in Africa, we brought up the problem of decolonisation the imperialists never expected we would be successful. However, since the first Conference of the Peoples of Africa in Accra in December 1958 we have traversed the entire road of the liberation of our continent together.

You will recall the upsurge of the liberation struggle of the peoples of Angola, Algeria, the Congo, Kenya, Mozambique, Nyasaland and Rhodesia after the Conference in Accra, and of Ruanda-Urundi today. You will remember that a decisive step forward was taken after that historic Conference. Nothing, neither bullets, nor repression, could stop this popular movement.

The work of this Conference is aimed at accelerating the movement for the independence of the African continent.

Ministers, dear fighters for the freedom of Africa, it is your duty to show the world and those who sneer at us that nothing can deter us from liberating Africa, which is our common aim. We can achieve this aim only in solidarity and unity. Our solidarity will have meaning only when it is boundless and when we are convinced that Africa's destiny is indivisible.

Such are the deep-going principles of the work you will have to do. This meeting will prepare the ground for a Summit Conference at which our countries will have to speak on:

- 1) the unqualified support of all the African states in the general struggle for a Pan-African bloc;
- 2) a policy of neutralism with the purpose of achieving genuine independence;
- 3) the breaking down of colonial barriers through cultural exchanges;
- 4) trade agreements between the African states;
- 5) Africa's position with regard to the European Common Market;
- 6) military co-operation;
- 7) the building in Leopoldville of a powerful radio station with the aid of all the African states;
- 8) the creation of a research centre in Leopoldville.

Ministers, you have come into contact with the reality of the Congo here, in the very heart of the crisis that we shall have to resolve.

Your confidence in the future of our continent will unquestionably help you to complete your work successfully. Your principal purpose is to prepare a meeting of our Heads of State, who will in deed establish African unity, for whose sake you have responded to our appeal.

You know the origin of what is today called the Congolese crisis, which is actually only a continuation of the struggle between the forces of pressure and the forces of liberation. At the very outset of the Belgian aggression, my Government, the guarantor and representative of the sovereignty of the Congolese nation, decided to appeal to the United Nations. The U.N. has responded. And so has the free world. Belgium has been condemned. I went to New York to show world public opinion the moving forces of the Congolese drama.

Upon our return from the United States we replied to the invitation of the Heads of the free African states, who publicly adopted a definite position and unanimously extended to us their fraternal support. From this rostrum I express my gratitude to President Bourguiba, His Majesty Mohammed V, President Sekou Toure, President Tubman, President Nkrumah and President Olympio, whom I had the honour to meet at this decisive moment. I regret that material difficulties prevented me from replying to the invitation of President Nasser and His Majesty Haile Selassie.

All of them, fighting for African unity, have said "No" to the strangulation of Africa. All of them immediately realised that the attempts of the imperialists to restore their rule threaten not only the independence of the Congo but also the existence of all the independent states of Africa. They all realised that if the Congo perishes, the whole of Africa will be plunged into the gloom of defeat and bondage.

That is further striking proof of African unity. It is concrete testimony of the unity that we need in the face of imperialism's monstrous appetite.

All statesmen are agreed that this reality is not debated but fought for so that it may be defended.

We have gathered here in order that together we may defend Africa, our patrimony. In reply to the actions of the imperialist states, for whom Belgium is only an instrument, we must unite the resistance front of the free and fighting nations of Africa. We must oppose the enemies of freedom with a coalition of free men. Our common destiny is now being decided here in the Congo.

It is, in effect, here that the last act of Africa's emancipation and rehabilitation is being played. In extending the struggle, whose primary object was to save the dignity of the African, the Congolese people have chosen independence. In doing so, they were aware that a single blow would not free them from colonial fetters, that juridical independence was only the first step, that a further long and trying effort would be required. The road we have chosen is not an easy one, but it is the road of pride and freedom of man.

We were aware that as long as the country was dependent, as long as she did not take her destiny into her own hands, the main thing would be lacking. This concerns the other colonies, no matter what their standard of life is or what positive aspects of the colonial system they have.

We have declared our desire for speedy independence without a transition period and without compromises with such emphasis because we have suffered more mockery, insults and humiliation than anybody else.

What purpose could delays serve when we already knew that sooner or later we would have to revise and re-examine everything? We had to create a new system adapted to the requirements of purely African evolution, change the methods forced on us and, in particular, find ourselves and free ourselves from the mental attitudes and various complexes in which colonisation kept us for centuries.

We were offered a choice between liberation and the

continuation of bondage. There can be no compromise between freedom and slavery. We chose to pay the price of freedom.

The classical methods of the colonialists, which we all knew or partially still know, are particularly vital here: survivals of military occupation, tribal disunity, sustained and encouraged over a long period, and destructive political opposition, planned, directed and paid.

You know how difficult it has been for a newly independent state to get rid of the military bases installed by the former occupying powers. We must declare here and now that henceforth Africa refuses to maintain the armed forces of the imperialists in its territory. There must be no more Bizertes, Kitonas, Kaminas and Sidi Slimanes. We have our own armies to defend our countries.

Our armed forces, which are victims of machinations, are likewise freeing themselves from the colonial organisation in order to have all the qualities of a national army under Congolese leadership.

Our internal difficulties, tribal war and the nuclei of political opposition seemed to have been accidentally concentrated in the regions with our richest mineral and power resources. We know how all this was organised and, in particular, who supports it today in our house.

Our Katanga because of its uranium, copper and gold, and our Bakwanga in Kasai because of its diamonds have become hotbeds of imperialist intrigues. The object of these intrigues is to recapture economic control of our country.

But one thing is certain, and I solemnly declare that the Congolese people will never again let themselves be exploited, that all leaders who will strive to direct them to that road will be thrown out of the community.

The resonance that has now been caused by the Congolese problem shows the weight that Africa has in the world today. Our countries, which only yesterday they wanted to ignore as colonial countries, are today causing the old world concern here in Africa. Let them worry

about what belongs to them. That is not our affair. Our future, our destiny, a free Africa, is our affair.

This is our year, which you have witnessed and shared in. It is the year of our indisputed victory. It is the year of heroic, blood-drenched Algeria, of Algeria the martyr and example of struggle. It is the year of tortured Angola, of enslaved South Africa, of imprisoned Ruanda-Urundi, of humiliated Kenya.

We all know, and the whole world knows it, that Algeria is not French, that Angola is not Portuguese, that Kenya is not English, that Ruanda-Urundi is not Belgian. We know that Africa is neither French, nor British, nor American, nor Russian, that it is African.

We know the objects of the West. Yesterday they divided us on the level of a tribe, clan and village. Today, with Africa liberating herself, they seek to divide us on the level of states. They want to create antagonistic blocs, satellites, and, having begun from that stage of the cold war, deepen the division in order to perpetuate their rule.

I think I shall not be making a mistake if I say that the united Africa of today rejects these intrigues. That is why we have chosen the policy of positive neutralism, which is the only acceptable policy allowing us to preserve our dignity.

For us there is neither a Western nor a communist bloc, but separate countries whose attitude towards Africa dictates our policy towards them. Let each country declare its position and act unequivocally with regard to Africa.

We refuse to be an arena of international intrigues, a hotbed and stake in the cold war. We affirm our human dignity of free men, who are steadily taking the destiny of their nations and their continent into their own hands.

We are acutely in need of peace and concord, and our foreign policy is directed towards co-operation, loyalty and friendship among nations. We want to be a force of peaceful progress, a force of conciliation. An independent



Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba speaks at the opening of the All-African Conference in Leopoldville, August 25, 1960

and united Africa will make a large and positive contribution to world peace. But torn into zones of hostile influence, she will only intensify world antagonism and increase tension.

We are not undertaking any discriminative measures. But the Congo is discriminated against in her external relations. Yet in spite of that she is open for all and we are prepared to go anywhere. Our only demand is that our sovereignty be recognised and respected.

We shall open our doors to specialists from all countries motivated by friendship, loyalty and co-operation, from countries bent not on ruling Africans but on helping Africa. They will be welcomed with open arms.

I am sure that I shall be expressing the sentiments of all my African brothers when I say that Africa is not opposed to any nation taken separately, but that she is vigilant against any attempt at new domination and exploitation both in the economic and spiritual fields. Our goal is to revive Africa's cultural, philosophical, social and moral values and to preserve our resources. But our vigilance does not signify isolation. From the beginning of her independence, the Congo has shown her desire to play her part in the life of free nations, and this desire was concretised in her request for admission to the United Nations.

Ministers and dear comrades, I am happy to express the joy and pride of the Government and people of the Congo at your presence here, at the presence here of the whole of Africa. The time of projects has passed. Today Africa must take action. This action is being impatiently awaited by the peoples of Africa. African unity and solidarity are no longer dreams. They must be expressed in decisions.

United by a single spirit, a single aspiration and a single heart, we shall turn Africa into a genuinely free and independent continent in the immediate future.

Long live African unity and solidarity!

Forward, Africans, to complete liberation!

KATANGA—A FALSE PROBLEM

(Concluding speech by Patrice Lumumba
at the All-African Conference in Leopoldville,
August 31, 1960)

Your Excellencies,
Delegates,
Ladies and gentlemen,
Dear comrades,

On behalf of the Government and people of the Republic of the Congo we salute you for the magnificent work that you have done.

Solemnly opened on August 25 under the banner of solidarity, the All-African Conference, which we invited to Leopoldville, has successfully completed its work. You have worked as a team in a spirit of understanding and have placed the interests of Africa above our individual interests and features. The success of this Conference gives us grounds for believing in Africa's future. Africa's unity will not be possible until all her children become united among themselves.

This has been profoundly grasped by us and that is why we are here together in this hall.

We have only just completed a tour of the interior of the Republic. We were accompanied by delegates from African countries and by African and foreign journalists, whom we invited. Everybody has seen the enthusiasm of the people and their trust in their Government and leaders. Everybody has seen how the Congolese trust their African brothers and how sincere the inhabitants of our country are in their striving for peace and order. Everybody could see the real face of the Congo and its people.

The colonialists have created a false problem. It is, as you know, the Katanga drama, which conceals an entire headquarters of saboteurs of our national independence.

This headquarters, which at present operates covertly, through intermediaries, has the sole object of stirring up trouble, creating difficulties for the Government, discrediting it abroad through carefully organised propaganda, and re-enslaving the Congo. And all this for the sole purpose of securing their own selfish interests.

The colonialists care nothing for Africa for her own sake. They are attracted by African riches and their actions are guided by the desire to preserve their interests in Africa against the wishes of the African people. For the colonialists all means are good if they help them to possess these riches.

Luckily for us, the Congolese people and their Government have shown themselves to be vigilant. Our struggle is aimed at liberating the country, restoring peace and consolidating social justice.

The Congo became independent under conditions which did not exist in any other African country. In other places the transition from the colonial regime to independence had intermediate stages, in the Congo everything proceeded differently. We gained our sovereignty without any intermediate stage. One single step took us from one hundred per cent colonial dependence to one hundred per cent independence.

We took over the country's leadership on June 30, 1960, and only a few days later, without giving us time to organise ourselves, the Belgian Government used a false pretext to launch flagrant aggression against us. We replied to these acts of provocation and force by appealing to the United Nations.

In so doing the Government of the Republic wished to avoid war and the extension of disorders in the Congo. We placed our trust in the United Nations, convinced that it would be able to come to our assistance.

Our endless appeals to that international organisation and the many trips that members of the Government and I have undertaken to U.N. Headquarters in New York

bear out how much we desire the incidents in the Congo to be stopped peacefully.

The only reason for any divergence of opinion between the Government of the Republic and the U.N. Secretary-General is that in all their actions in the Congo, contrary to the resolutions of the Security Council, the representatives of the United Nations never consulted us.

These incidents could have been avoided if from the very beginning there had been a spirit of co-operation between representatives of the United Nations and the Government of the Republic. We have never tried to cast a doubt on the work that the United Nations is doing in Africa.

Who will deny that the joint efforts of the United Nations prevented many disasters in the world?

Who will deny that for many long years the colonial peoples placed their hopes in the United Nations?

We ourselves have appealed to the United Nations many times during our struggle against the Belgian colonialism.

On behalf of the Government and people of the Republic of the Congo we confirm our trust in the U.N. and in the different nations composing it. Our greatest desire is that this organisation should pursue its aims with greater efficacy for the happiness of mankind. The Government of the Republic will not stint any effort to help maintain peace and international security.

We have solemnly appealed to the National Army and the forces of the United Nations to combine their efforts in their mission to pacify the country.

Agreement between United Nations representatives in the Congo and the Government of the Republic is absolutely indispensable. It would facilitate harmony and understanding between U.N. troops and the Congolese army.

We salute the magnificent work the United Nations is doing in the Congo today.

We thank all the countries which have responded to our appeal and continue to render us all possible aid.

Many countries have spared no effort to help the Congo with food, medicines, materials and other forms of aid.

I cannot pass over in silence the fact that the Congolese appreciate the gestures of human solidarity from the friends of our freedom.

Similarly, we pay tribute to troops of the National Army for their fidelity. They are serving the Republic with a civic spirit and patriotism.

From the very outset of these events, our troops have known no rest and their ideal is to serve the Republic, their country, to defend the people and the integrity of the Republic, and they are prepared to die for this ideal. They are possessed with the idea of entering Katanga without delay and liberating their brothers. They burn with impatience. This consciousness of our soldiers is encouraging the entire people.

The Congo, dear delegates from the African countries, is inhabited by a peace-loving people, but they have decided to defend the unity of their beloved country. They are a people who really want peace and order and stretch out their hand to everybody who sincerely wishes to help them.

Europeans of goodwill, Belgians of good intentions will always find a friendly welcome in our country. We want to turn the Congo into a great, free and flourishing nation, into a land of democracy and freedom.

We are profoundly inspired by the trust that the African states are showing us today, and you may be sure, dear delegates, that we shall do everything in our power to justify that trust.

The solidarity that you have demonstrated by gathering in Leopoldville today is a vivid lesson for our people. That is why we are making a fraternal appeal for unity to all our compatriots. Unity alone can help and save us. We are very proud to note today that this has been excellently understood by the Congolese people.

Since Africa is showing her solidarity with regard to us, we, in our turn, must be more united than ever before.

It is this unity, dear brothers in struggle, dear brothers in poverty, that strengthens us and enables us to hold out against the intrigues and plots of the colonialists.

The presence in Leopoldville of representatives of all African countries is helping the cause of Africa. The Western world has realised that it can no longer continue its game without the risk of completely losing Africa's friendship.

The Western world now appreciates the value that Africa attaches to her freedom and dignity. It has realised that if it wants to live in friendship with Africa it must respect Africa's dignity and rights.

That is the decisive step that has been taken today towards the speedy and complete liberation of Africa and her normal co-operation with the rest of the world. Peace will not be complete in Africa until the West stops its colonial activities.

We declare that the Government and people of the Congo have no hate or hostility for Belgium or any other European nation. And yet no sooner had the Belgian Government announced the withdrawal of its troops from Katanga than it replaced them with other troops. They include, for example, the hundred Belgian gendarmes recently arrived in Katanga under the guise of "technical advisers", who will "teach" and "train" Tshombe's police.

Moreover, before leaving Elisabethville, General Gheysen, commander of the Belgian occupation force in Katanga, demanded the creation of a neutral zone between Kasai and Katanga and the neutralisation of the bases in Kamina and Kitona. The Belgian general did not limit himself to recommendations. He took action. The roads, bridges and strategic points in Katanga were mined under the direction of the Belgian army and on direct instructions from the Government in Brussels.

At the same time, the entire white population in Katanga was put in a state of mobilisation. Every European re-

ceived a mobilisation notification signed by the commander of the Volunteer Corps and the Belgian Territorial Administrator.

I shall read you the official mobilisation order.

"Kabalo Territory,

"Volunteer Corps,

"Mobilisation Order:

"M. Gerard Vanderschrick,

"ATA, Kabalo

"An additional 25 cartridge clips have been made available for your weapon.

"Your mission is:

"To remain at the Territory Bureau, where you will be at the disposal of the Commander of the Volunteer Corps, who will give you your assignment in patrol or guard duty.

"Before reporting to the Territory Bureau you have sufficient time (fifteen minutes after the receipt of this order) to take your family to the Hotel Verret—which has been set aside for non-combatants—where they will be assured the necessary protection. You are to take with you a suitcase with clothes, a water filter, pots and a minimum supply of food.

"Commander, Volunteer Corps,

"J. Bruhiere.

"Territory Administrator,

"H. Callens."

This document has been turned over to the press.

The Volunteer Corps is a military organisation created and maintained by the Belgian Government. It has demonstrated its resolute unwillingness to leave Katanga.

The object of this manoeuvre of the Belgian Government is quite obvious: if, for the sake of appearances, it officially withdraws its troops it will, in reality, strengthen and reinforce its occupational potential by sending other military personnel under the guise of "technicians"

and mobilising all Belgian nationals residing in Katanga. On behalf of the Government and people of the Congo, we are making it clear that it is not a matter of neutralising the bases at Kamina and Kitona, but of their total and complete evacuation.

We do not want any foreign military base in the Congo, even if it is controlled and maintained by the United Nations.

Not a single square metre of Congolese territory must belong to any foreign power, and nothing can and must be done in our country without the permission of its Government, which is the custodian of the legality and sovereignty of the Congolese people.

We are simply a people who have suffered long from abasement of our dignity and our rights. We are a patient people.

We know that nothing durable can be achieved by continued rancour, and we therefore demand that the Belgians and their allies stop all activity engendering disunity and hostility.

The Government, supported by the people, will soon begin exploiting the country's wealth with the aid of a vast programme of investments.

Political independence has no meaning if it is not accompanied by rapid economic and social development. We can achieve this progress only by tireless effort. With our own hands we shall soon build up our own economy.

The Government of the Republic of the Congo shall make an effective contribution to enable Africa to liberate herself immediately from foreign rule. We ardently desire to see the rejuvenation of Africa despite our regional, language and philosophical differences and the difference in manners and customs.

A free Africa, a united Africa, an undivided Africa, a determined Africa will play a great role in creating a better world, a fraternal world.

Such, Your Excellencies and dear delegates, are the thoughts and profound hopes of the people and Government of the Republic of the Congo.

We wish all of you a happy return home and ask you to be our intermediaries in conveying to your governments and peoples our sincere gratitude for the support you have given us in this period of ordeal that we are living through.

United as the children of one family, we shall defend the honour and freedom of Africa.

Long live African independence and solidarity!

Long live the union of independent African states!

YOUNG CONGOLESE, YOU WILL CARRY THE BANNER OF THE CONGO

**(Address by Patrice Lumumba to Congolese youth,
August 1960)**

Today I am addressing the youth, the young men and women of the Republic of the Congo.

In speaking to them, I am addressing these words to future generations because the future of our beloved country belongs to them.

We are fighting our enemies in order to prepare a better and happier life for our youth.

If we had been egoists, if we had thought only about ourselves we would not have made the innumerable sacrifices we are making.

I am aware that our country can completely liberate herself from the chains of colonialism politically, economically and spiritually only at the price of a relentless and sometimes dangerous struggle. Together with the youth of the country, we have waged this struggle against foreign rule, against mercantile exploitation, against injustice and pressure.

Young people who have been inactive and exploited for a long time have now become aware of their role of standard-bearer of the peaceful revolution.

The young people of the Congo have fought on our side in towns, villages and in the bush. Many of our young men have been struck down by the bullets of the colonialists. Many of them left their parents and friends in order to fight heroically for the cause of freedom. The resistance that the young people offered the aggressors in Leopoldville on January 4 and in Stanleyville on October 30, 1959, deserves every praise.

With deep emotion I bow in memory of these courageous patriots, these fighters for African freedom.

The time is not far distant when large numbers of young men and women were driven out of schools by their white teachers and instructors on the suspicion of having nationalist ideas. Many brilliantly gifted young people turned down the opportunity to receive a higher education for the simple reason that they no longer wished to be indoctrinated by the colonialists, who wanted to turn our young men and women into eternal servants of the colonial regime.

During the heroic struggle of the Congolese nationalists, the young people, even those who were still sitting at school desks, resolutely opposed all new forms of colonialism, whether political, social, spiritual or religious.

Their only dream was national liberation. Their sole aim was immediate independence. Their only resolve was to wage an implacable struggle against the puppets and emissaries of the colonialists.

Thanks to the general mobilisation of all the democratic youth of the Congo, the Congolese nationalists won independence for the nation. We received this independence at the price of a grim struggle, at the price of all sorts of privations, at the price of tears and blood.

After independence was solemnly proclaimed on June 30, 1960, the colonialists and their black emissaries start-

ed a barbarous war in the young Republic of the Congo. They began this perfidious aggression because the nationalist Government now in power did not want them to continue exploiting our country as they did prior to June 30, the historic day when the people of our country said *Adieu* to the Belgian colonialists.

Not having any support whatever, particularly among the working class, who have had their fill of colonial exploitation, the colonialists and their henchmen now want to force certain sections of the youth to serve them in order to be able to propagandise the revival of colonialism. That is why a certain part of the youth, luckily not a very numerous part, have plunged into national defeatism.

Happily, the vast majority of the young people saw through this last attempt of the imperialists, who are turning into account the dissatisfaction of some malcontents, of those who failed in the elections because they did not have the confidence of the people.

This nationalist youth recently held demonstrations in various towns in the Republic to show their absolute and total opposition to imperialist intrigues.

Young people, I salute you, and congratulate you on your civic and patriotic spirit. Young people, specially for you I have created a Ministry for Youth Affairs and Sports under the Central Government. It is your Ministry. It is at your disposal. Many of you, without any discrimination, will be called upon to direct this Ministry, its different services and activities.

Today, in the free and independent Congo we must not have a Bangala, National Unity Party, Association of Bakongo, Mukongo, Batetela or Lokele youth but a united, Congolese, nationalist, democratic youth. This youth will serve the social and economic revolution of our great and beloved country.

You must energetically combat tribalism, which is a poison, a social scourge that is the country's misfortune today. You must combat all the separatist manoeuvres,

which some of the preachers of the policy of division are trying to pass off to young and inexperienced people under the name of federalism, federation or confederation.

In reality, young people, these names are only a new vocabulary brought by the imperialists to divide us in order the better and more conveniently to exploit us. Your entire future will be threatened if you do not oppose these manoeuvres, this new, disguised colonisation.

You must be proud that you belong to a great nation, a great country, a mighty power. This power, which the imperialists envy today, is embodied in national unity. This unity must be the heritage that you, in your turn, shall leave to your children.

The Government will soon send 300 young people to study in the U.S.A., 150 in the Soviet Union and 20 in Guinea, not to mention other countries.

The Congo is no longer a national reservation, a national park, a zoo which we could not leave. Tomorrow you shall go everywhere to study, to learn a speciality, and to get to know the world. Workers, working people will have an equal share in these study missions.

You shall go everywhere, to all the parts of the world. These contacts with the outside world, this direct confrontation with the reality of life will make you experienced people, whom the free and independent Congo needs today.

You will go there not as representatives of Association of Bakongo, National Unity Party, Congo National Movement or African Regroupment Centre youth. You will be Congolese citizens, simply Congolese. And by your behaviour, devotion, intelligence and political maturity you must be a credit to your Congolese motherland.

Young people, the Congo belongs to you. The national Government, the people's Government will do everything in its power to prevent the Congo from being torn away from you.

Long live the Republic of the Congo!

Long live the people's, democratic youth!

THE PEOPLE TRUST THEIR GOVERNMENT

(Message from Patrice Lumumba broadcast by radio on September 5, 1960)

The National Radio has just broadcast a declaration by the Head of State, Mr. Joseph Kasavubu, according to which the Government headed by me must be dismissed.

On behalf of the Government and the entire nation I formally reject this information.

The Government has had no talks on this subject with the Head of State. The Government, which has been democratically elected by the nation and has won the unanimous confidence of Parliament, can only be dismissed when it loses the trust of the people.

Today the Government enjoys this trust and has the backing of the entire people.

Having adopted the decision to defend the people at the price of blood, refused to sell the country to the Belgian colonialists and their allies, and frustrated the intrigues of those who still aim to exploit our nation, the Government will defend the rights of the people with honour and dignity.

The Government remains in power and shall continue fulfilling its mission.

I ask the population, which has vested us with trust, to be calm in the face of the manoeuvres of the saboteurs of our national independence.

We elected the Head of State ourselves even though he did not have the trust of the people. We can use the same right and withdraw this confidence if he goes against the interests of the people.

Congolese people, be vigilant. The enemies of our country and the accomplices of the Belgian imperialists are unmasking themselves.

Congolese officers and non-commissioned officers, remain at your posts in order to defend the country as heroically as when you fought against the Belgian aggressors.

* * *

INTERVIEWS, LETTERS

THE IMPERIALISTS WILL NEVER BOSS THE CONGO

The Congo is prepared to maintain with Belgium relations of close friendship and co-operation on the principle of equality.

But the Congolese Government will take the most resolute measures against all who hamper the construction of an independent Congo, her further development and prosperity.

The Government is prepared to establish honourable co-operation with any country desiring it. But we shall reject any proposals that could place us in a position of dependence on imperialism. We have not won independence and rid ourselves of colonial oppression merely to fall under the domination of others. Therefore, we shall not allow the imperialists to boss our country.

*(July 1960, extract from a speech
at the Foreign Press Association
in Leopoldville)*

THE CONGO THANKS THE LAND OF SOVIETS

Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba of the Congo gave the following interview to a TASS correspondent in Washington in July 1960.

Question: How, in your opinion, is the U.N. Security Council decision on the rapid withdrawal of Belgian troops from the Congo being fulfilled?

Answer: Belgium has already proved that she has no respect for Security Council decisions. The Belgian Government is continuing its aggressive actions and savage reprisals against our people. It will be recalled that as far back as July 14, the Security Council demanded in a resolution that Belgian troops leave the Congo; it sent U.N. armed forces to our country to back up this decision. But since then not a single Belgian soldier has left the territory of the Congo. Every day the troops of the Belgian colonialists kill soldiers of our National Army and massacre hundreds of Congolese civilians. These facts are not widely known in the world because the Belgian colonialists have got the press of other Western countries to write as little as possible about the doings of Belgian soldiers in the Congo.

Our Government and Parliament have from the very first demanded that Belgian troops leave the Congo. The pertinent Soviet proposal tabled in the Security Council was the only proposal fully conforming to our people's interests. We continue to demand and declare that the immediate withdrawal of Belgian troops is the only way to restore law and order in the Congo. That is why we ask all democratic and peace-loving countries to support our demand. The last Belgian soldier should have left the Congo long ago. The U.N. troops, which arrived to ensure implementation of the Security Council's resolution, have now been in the Congo for over a fortnight. But the situation has not changed. I must say that the Security Council's resolutions are being fulfilled half-heartedly, although the Council had already passed two resolutions—on July 14 and 22—on the need to withdraw Belgian troops from the Congo. Such a small country as Belgium allows herself to behave in this way only because the Congo now lacks the weapons to throw out the Belgian colonialists.

Question: What is the situation in Katanga? What is your opinion of Katanga's so-called secession from the Congo recently announced by Mr. Tshombe?

Answer: There has never been a Katanga problem as such. The gist of the matter is that the imperialists want to lay their hands on our country's riches and to continue exploiting our people. The imperialists have always had their agents in the colonial countries. Tshombe, in particular, is an agent of the Belgian imperialists. Everything he says and writes is not his own. He merely mouths the words of the Belgian colonialists. It is well known that Tshombe is an ex-businessman who has long since thrown in his lot with the colonial companies in the Congo. But very few people know that just recently, as a result of dishonest machinations and overdrafts, Tshombe owed Belgian companies in the Congo more than ten million Belgian francs. He was arrested and was to be tried. But in view of the situation that took shape, Tshombe was "pardoned" and released by the Belgians and since then he has been obediently carrying out all their orders.

Question: What is the Congolese people's view of the Soviet Union's stand on the Congo's struggle to attain genuine independence and territorial integrity?

Answer: The Soviet Union was the only Great Power whose stand conformed to our people's will and desire. That is why the Soviet Union was the only Great Power which had all along been supporting the Congolese people's struggle. I should like to convey the heartfelt gratitude of the entire Congolese people to the Soviet people and to Prime Minister Nikita Khrushchov personally for your country's timely and great moral support to the young Republic of the Congo in its struggle against the imperialists and colonialists. I should also like to thank the Soviet Union for the assistance in food which it is extending to the Congo.

(Washington, July 28, 1960, TASS)

THE IMPERIALISTS CALL ME A COMMUNIST BECAUSE I REFUSED TO BE BRIBED

Question: Some of your political opponents accuse you of being a Communist. Could you reply to that?

Answer: This is a propagandist trick aimed at me. I am not a Communist. The colonialists have campaigned against me throughout the country because I am a revolutionary and demand the abolition of the colonial regime, which ignored our human dignity. They look upon me as a Communist because I refused to be bribed by the imperialists.

(From an interview given
by Patrice Lumumba
to a "France-Soir" correspondent
on July 22, 1960)

I SHALL NEVER FORGET THESE ATROCITIES

Independence is never granted. We won our independence by our own blood and effort. I shall never forget the atrocities and the humiliations we suffered under Belgian colonial rule.

One fact must be understood: but for the flagrant intervention of Belgian troops, we could have gradually normalised the situation.

The following fact still remains true: peace and security in the Congo can be restored only when the last Belgian soldier is withdrawn.

As for the so-called disintegration of the Congo, you must know that Belgian companies have long had detailed plans for the separation of copper- and cobalt-rich Katanga. But Katanga is, and will remain, an integral part of our country. This was confirmed by the Security Council in its various resolutions.

(July 1960, from an interview
given to the "Chicago Daily News")

AFRICA IS CALLED UPON TO PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE

The Belgian Government has appropriated our gold reserves. But that will not make the Congo any poorer. With the aid of our African friends we shall surmount these difficulties, train new personnel and direct all our efforts towards creating a flourishing economy, and I am sure that within a few months, a few years, the Congo will see new horizons. We shall then say to the Belgians: You can come to us. We shall stretch our hand out to them because Africans are not a rancorous people.

The events in the Congo are fruitful because they have awakened the hearts of Africans suffering from oppression. The liberation of the Congo is a decisive step towards the liberation of the whole of Black Africa. We want Mozambique, Angola, Kenya, South Africa, Nigeria and all the African peoples still languishing under foreign domination to be free without delay.

...We are not opposed to the West, but we want the West to realise that the period of colonialism has ended and that Africa is no longer a land for gold-hunters nor a hotbed of international intrigues.

Today we are giving the West a choice between friendship with Africa or withdrawal from Africa. . . . I am convinced that Africa is called upon to play an important role in the community of free nations.

*(From a statement made in Tunis
on August 3, 1960)*

OUR ENEMIES HOPE TO INTIMIDATE US

Before, and then after, the proclamation of the Congo's independence, we constantly felt the Soviet Union's moral support, and for this we are profoundly grateful to the Government and people of the U.S.S.R. Today we are getting not only moral support, but also material aid. Just yesterday we received from the Soviet Union a con-

signment of motor vehicles and equipment, and before that, food. The enemies of our independence are trying to scare us into refusing the Soviet Union's assistance. But we are firmly convinced that this assistance is selfless and humane. It is in complete accord with the principles of the Declaration of Human Rights, which the U.S.S.R. signed and is actively defending. Once again, I should like to thank, through your press, the people and Government of the U.S.S.R. for their selfless friendship.

*(From an interview with foreign
correspondents in Leopoldville,
August 25, 1960)*

I AM CONFIDENT OF MY PEOPLE'S FUTURE

Filemin Mikolo Sarungi of Tanganyika met Patrice Lumumba in Cairo in 1958. In the summer of 1960, Sarungi, who was then studying at the Department of Medicine of Budapest University, and L.A. Binagi, a student of the Economics Department, wrote a letter congratulating the Prime Minister of the Congo on behalf of the African students at Budapest University.

Lumumba replied from Leopoldville on October 27.

He wrote:

Dear brother,

Your letter of July 2, 1960, has moved me deeply.

I thank you for your heartfelt wishes. I consider it my duty to state in this letter that for me as an African nationalist leader there can be no question of ceasing or relaxing my efforts in the struggle for the complete independence of all the African peoples. On the contrary, I regard it my duty continually to redouble my efforts as far as it is possible.

Like you, I fully subscribe to the statement of my dear friend and brother Dr. Nkrumah that "the independence of any country in Africa signifies the liberation of the whole of Africa from the yoke of imperialism". Indeed,

that statement determines the role of the black peoples in the struggle for their liberation from colonial oppression.

You may rest assured that for my part I shall resist all the intrigues of the agents of the imperialist or colonial regime, and that I shall resolutely and with uncompromising firmness expose the plots and insidious manoeuvres aimed at restoring in our country the totalitarian regime that we have struggled against for so long.

In addition, I shall endeavour to direct my country along the road that has proved to be the most correct, namely, the road of creating a genuinely Congolese state that would be rid of inter-tribal wars and fratricidal struggles, so that we can be proud of the work we shall have done to unite the Congo, our beloved country.

I am firmly convinced that once the black peoples are liberated from oppression and occupation by the colonial regime they will achieve great heights (after their internal problems have been resolved) and, perhaps, even surpass every other country in the world.

I do not wish to turn my letter to you into an exposition of my views, but what I have written is an expression of my feelings and my most sincere convictions.

With fraternal and best wishes.

Patrice LUMUMBA,
Prime Minister

I REMAIN CALM

(This letter from Patrice Lumumba to A. M. Dayal, Special Representative of the U.N. Secretary-General, was written secretly in the Thysville prison)

Mr. Special Representative,

On December 27 last, I had the pleasure of receiving a visit from the Red Cross, which occupied itself with my plight and with the plight of the other parliamentarians imprisoned together with me. I told them of the inhuman conditions we are living in.

Briefly, the situation is as follows. I am here with seven other parliamentarians. Among them is Mr. Okito, President of the Senate. In addition there are with us a Senate employee and a driver. Altogether there are ten of us. We have been kept locked up in damp cells since December 2, 1960, and at no time have we been permitted to leave them. The meals that we are brought twice a day are very bad. For three or four days I ate nothing but a banana. I told this to the Red Cross medical officer sent to me. I spoke to him in the presence of a colonel from Thysville. I demanded that fruit be bought on my own money because the food that I am given here is atrocious. Although the medical officer gave his permission, the military authorities guarding me turned down my request, stating that they were following orders from Kasavubu and Colonel Mobutu. The medical officer from Thysville prescribed a short walk every evening so that I could leave my cell for at least a little while. But the colonel and the district commissioner denied me this. The clothes I am wearing have not been washed for thirty-five days. I am forbidden to wear shoes.

In a word, the conditions we are living in are absolutely intolerable and run counter to all regulations.

Moreover, I receive no news from my wife and I do not even know where she is. Normally I should have had regular visits from her as is provided for by the prison regulations in force in the Congo. On the other hand, the prison regulations clearly state that not later than a day after his arrest a prisoner must be brought before the investigator handling his case. Five days after that a prisoner must again be arraigned before a judge, who must decide whether to remand him in custody or not. In any case, a prisoner must have a lawyer.

Under the criminal code a prisoner is released from prison if five days after he is taken into custody the judge takes no decision on remanding him. The same happens in cases when the first decision, which is taken five days

after a person is arrested, is not reaffirmed within fifteen days. Since our arrest on December 1 and to this day we have not been arraigned before a judge or visited by a judge. No arrest warrant has been shown to us. We are kept simply in a military camp and have been here for thirty-four days. We are kept in military detention cells.

The criminal code is ignored as are the prison regulations. Ours is purely a case of arbitrary imprisonment. I must add that we possess parliamentary immunity.

Such is the situation and I ask you to inform the United Nations Secretary-General of it.

I remain calm and hope the United Nations will help us out of this situation.

I stand for reconciliation between all the children of this country.

I am writing this letter secretly on bad paper.

I have the honour to be, etc.

Patrice LUMUMBA,
Prime Minister

Thysville, January 4, 1961

* * *

RELATIONS WITH THE U.N.

**WHEN BANDITS ACT THE U.N. LOOKS ON,
WHEN THE GOVERNMENT ACTS IT OBSTRUCTS....**

**(From a letter to the President
of the Security Council,
August 1, 1960)**

The trend of events in the Congo is causing my Government serious concern. . . .

The Belgian Government promised to withdraw its troops from the Congo as soon as the United Nations troops reached there.

United Nations troops have been arriving in the Congo since July 16, but not a single Belgian soldier has left Congolese soil.

We are at present confronted with a deliberate refusal by the Belgian Government to comply with the decisions of the highest international authority, the Security Council.

The Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of the Congo informs me in a telegram recently received in New York, a copy of which is attached, that the Congolese soldiers are being disarmed, whereas the Belgian soldiers are remaining in the territory together with all their arms. I would particularly draw your attention to the fact that no contingent of United Nations troops has so far entered Katanga, because this is opposed by the Belgian Government solely in order to strengthen the secession movement it has instigated in this province using Tshombe as a screen, in contravention of the relevant resolutions adopted by the Security Council.

There is now no justification whatever for the presence of Belgian military forces in the Congo.

The arguments put forward by the Belgian Government for the maintenance of its troops in the Congo contrary to the decisions of the Security Council are merely false pretexts. The Belgian Government's intention is to disorganise the country and involve our Government and our people in numerous economic and financial difficulties.

To give just one example, the Belgian Government recently removed our gold reserves which were in our Central Bank in the Congo. Such measures of economic strangulation are taking place in many other sectors.

I would also inform you that the people of Katanga emphatically repudiate the attempts at secession, which the Belgian Government is in the process of organising in that province with the help of a number of collaborators, among whom is Mr. Tshombe. The present objective of the Belgian Government and of a few groups which support it, is to bring about the division of the Congo in order

to obtain a hold over our country. The paramount problem in the Congo is that of the immediate withdrawal of all Belgian troops from Congolese territory.

I reserve the right to request a meeting of the Security Council to consider whatever measures may prove necessary.

P. LUMUMBA,
Prime Minister

SELF-EXPOSURE OF THE BELGIAN COLONIALISTS

**(From a telegram to the President
of the Security Council,
August 1, 1960)**

It has come to my knowledge that resorting to insidious manoeuvres and using Tshombe as its instrument, the Belgian Government is taking recourse to blackmail in order to prevent the arrival of United Nations troops in Katanga. All of Tshombe's actions are dictated by Belgian officers, whom the Belgian Government has placed at his side as advisers.

Clearly, the Belgian Government is torpedoing the fulfilment of the decisions of the United Nations... The Security Council has virtually authorised you to take, in consultation with the Government of the Republic of the Congo, the necessary steps in order to provide us with whatever military assistance we may need. With the purpose of keeping its troops in Katanga and thereby consolidating the secession of Katanga, which it instigated, the Belgian Government alleges that these troops were sent into Katanga at Tshombe's request. With this statement the Belgian Government admits that it instigated the secession of Katanga.

By placing its troops and military advisers at Tshombe's disposal in order to facilitate the splitting up of the Congo and hinder the actions of the United Nations, the Belgian

Government is obviously opposing the restoration of legality and order in the Congo and the exercise of authority by the Government of the Congo.

I reaffirm my demand to you that United Nations troops be sent into Katanga immediately. Any delay in the strict fulfilment of the Security Council's decisions may seriously affect the prestige of the United Nations, as well as the security of the Congo, which will be a threat to peace in Africa. In the event United Nations troops are not brought into Katanga by Saturday, August 6, in conformity with the obligations undertaken by the United Nations, by you and by my Government, I shall be compelled to re-examine my position. I continue to hope...

P. LUMUMBA

YOU MUST NEGOTIATE WITH THE GOVERNMENT AND NOT WITH TSHOMBE

**(From a telegram to Hammarskjöld,
U.N. Secretary-General
August 5, 1960)**

I am happy the U.N. has decided to send troops to Katanga. I am aware that with the help of cunning manoeuvres inspired by Belgian officers, whom the Government of Brussels has assigned to Tshombe, the Belgian Government has attempted to ignore the decisions of the United Nations. I firmly hope you will not give in to the blackmail of the Government of Belgium through its puppet Tshombe.

I cannot understand how Dr. Bunche could go to Katanga to discuss with Tshombe the question of the arrival of U.N. troops in that province. Such negotiations with a member of a provincial government contradict the decisions of the Security Council.

The Security Council had, after all, instructed you to take the necessary steps, in consultation with the Gov-

ernment of the Congo, to render us such military assistance as we may require. You should, therefore, negotiate with our Government and not with Tshombe.

In an effort to retain its troops in Katanga with the purpose of stabilising the split it has provoked, the Belgian Government asserts that its troops were sent to Katanga Province on Tshombe's request.

With that decision the Belgian Government admits that it initiated the breakaway of Katanga Province. In its resolution of July 22, the Security Council called upon all states to refrain from any action that might hinder the restoration of public order and the exercise of authority by the Congolese Government. Similarly, it requested these states to refrain from any action that might undermine the territorial integrity and the political independence of the Republic of the Congo. By placing its troops and military advisers at Tshombe's disposal to facilitate the splitting up of the Congo and to obstruct the actions of the United Nations, the Belgian Government openly hinders the restoration of public order in the Congo and the exercise of authority by the Congolese Government.

Patrice LUMUMBA

YOU HAVE VIOLATED THE SECURITY COUNCIL'S RESOLUTION, MR. HAMMARSKJÖLD

**(From a letter to Hammarskjöld,
U.N. Secretary-General,
August 14, 1960)**

As it has informed Mr. Bunche, the Government of the Republic of the Congo can in no way agree with your personal interpretation, which is unilateral and erroneous. The resolution of July 14, 1960, explicitly states that the Security Council authorises you "to provide the Government [of the Republic of the Congo] with such military as-

sistance as may be necessary". This text adds that you are to do so "in consultation with" my Government. It is, therefore, clear that in its intervention in the Congo the United Nations is not to act as a neutral organisation but rather that the Security Council is to place all its resources at the disposal of my Government. From these texts it is clear that contrary to your personal interpretation, the United Nations force may be used "to subdue the rebel Government of Katanga", that my Government may call upon the United Nations services to transport civilian and military representatives of the Central Government to Katanga in opposition to the provincial Government of Katanga and that the United Nations force has the duty to protect the civilian and military personnel representing my Government in Katanga. Paragraph 4 of the Security Council's resolution of August 9, 1960, which you invoke in order to challenge this right, cannot be interpreted without reference to the two earlier resolutions. This third resolution which you cite is only a supplement to the two preceding resolutions, which remain unaltered. The resolution to which you refer confirms the first two. It reads: "... confirms the authority given to the Secretary-General by the Security Council resolutions of July 14 and July 22, 1960, and requests him to continue to carry out the responsibility placed on him thereby." It follows from the foregoing that Paragraph 4 which you invoke cannot be interpreted as nullifying your obligations to "provide the Government with such military assistance as may be necessary" throughout the entire territory of the Republic, including Katanga. On the contrary, it is the particular purpose of this third decision of the Security Council to make it clear that Katanga falls within the scope of the application of the resolution of July 14, 1960.

My Government also takes this opportunity to protest against the fact that upon your return from New York en route to Katanga, you did not consult it, as prescribed in the resolution of July 14, 1960, despite the formal request

submitted to you by my Government's delegation in New York before your departure and despite my letter replying to your cable on this subject. On the contrary, you have dealt with the rebel Government of Katanga in violation of the Security Council's resolution of July 14, 1960.

That resolution does not permit you to deal with the local authorities until after you have consulted with my Government. Yet you are acting as though my Government, which is the repository of legal authority and is alone qualified to deal with the United Nations, did not exist. The manner in which you have acted until now is only retarding the restoration of order in the Republic, particularly in the Province of Katanga, whereas the Security Council has solemnly declared that the purpose of the intervention is the complete restoration of order in the Republic of the Congo (see the resolution of July 22, 1960).

Furthermore, the talks you have just had with Mr. Moise Tshombe, the assurances you have given him and the statements you have just made to the press are ample evidence that you are making yourself a party to the conflict between the rebel Government of Katanga and the legal Government of the Republic, that you are intervening in this conflict and that you are using the United Nations force to influence its outcome, which is formally prohibited by the very paragraph which you invoked.

It is incomprehensible to me that you should have sent only Swedish and Irish troops to Katanga, systematically excluding troops from the African states even though some of the latter were the first to be landed at Leopoldville. In this matter you have acted in connivance with the rebel Government of Katanga and at the instigation of the Belgian Government.

In view of the foregoing, I submit to you the following requests:

1. To entrust the task of guarding all the airfields of the Republic to troops of the National Army and the Congolese police in place of United Nations troops.

2. To send immediately to Katanga Moroccan, Guinean, Ghanaian, Ethiopian, Mali, Tunisian, Sudanese, Liberian and Congolese troops.

3. To put aircraft at the disposal of the Government of the Republic for the transportation of Congolese troops and civilians engaged in restoring order throughout the country.

4. To proceed immediately to seize all arms and ammunition distributed by the Belgians in Katanga to the partisans of the rebel Government, whether Congolese or foreign, and to put at the disposal of the Government of the Republic the arms and ammunition so seized, as they are the property of the Government.

5. To withdraw all non-African troops from Katanga immediately.

I hope that you will signify your agreement to the foregoing. If my Government does not receive satisfaction it will be obliged to take other steps.

My Government takes this occasion to thank the Security Council for the resolutions it adopted, of which my Government and the Congolese people unanimously approve and which they would like to see applied directly and without delay.

P. LUMUMBA,
Prime Minister

UNCONVINCING REPLY

(From a letter from Dag Hammarskjöld,
U.N. Secretary-General,
to the Prime Minister
of the Republic of the Congo,
August 15, 1960)

Leopoldville

Sir,

I have received your letter of today's date. In it I find allegations against the Secretary-General as well as objections to the Secretary-General's interpretation of the

resolutions with the implementation of which he has been entrusted. In your letter you also submit certain requests which appear to derive from a position contrary to my interpretation of the resolutions.

There is no reason for me to enter into a discussion here either of those unfounded and unjustified allegations or of the interpretation of the Security Council's resolutions. As far as the actions requested by you are concerned I shall naturally follow the instructions which the Council may find it necessary or useful to give me.

I have the honour to be, etc.

DAG HAMMARSKJÖLD

YOU ARE DECEIVING THE CONGO

**(From a letter from the Prime Minister
of the Republic of the Congo
to Dag Hammarskjöld,
U.N. Secretary-General,
August 15, 1960)**

Leopoldville

The letter I addressed to you on August 14 on behalf of the Government of the Republic of the Congo contains no allegations against the Secretary-General of the United Nations but rather reveals facts, which should be made known to the Security Council and to the world at large. The Government of the Republic is well aware that the position you have adopted is in no sense that of the Security Council, in which it continues to have confidence. It is paradoxical that you decided to inform the Government of the Republic only after making arrangements with Mr. Tshombe and the Belgians surrounding him. Furthermore, you at no time considered it advisable to consult the Government of the Republic as the resolution of the Security Council recommended you to do. The Government considers that you refused to give it the military as-

sistance it needs and for which it approached the United Nations. I should be grateful if you would inform me in clear terms whether you reject the specific proposals contained in my letter of August 14.

In expectation of an immediate reply, I have the honour to be, etc.

P. LUMUMBA,
Prime Minister

A GLARING EXAMPLE OF DELAYING TACTICS

**(From a letter from the United Nations
Secretary-General to the Prime Minister
of the Republic of the Congo,
August 15, 1960)**

Leopoldville

Sir,

I received your letter of August 15 in reply to my letter of the same date. I presume that your letters have been approved by the Council of Ministers and that you will inform the Council of Ministers of my replies. I have nothing to add to my reply to your first communication dated August 14 and received today at noon. Your letter will be circulated to the Security Council immediately at my request. If the Council of Ministers takes no initiative which compels me to change my plans, or has no other specific proposal to make, I shall go to New York this evening in order to seek clarification of the attitude of the Security Council.

I have the honour to be, etc.

DAG HAMMARSKJÖLD

YOU HAVE CAPITULATED TO THE TRAITOR TSHOMBE

(From a letter from the Prime Minister
of the Republic of the Congo
to the U.N. Secretary-General,
August 15, 1960)

Leopoldville

Sir,

I have just this moment received your letter of today's date in reply to the one I sent you an hour ago. Your letter does not reply at all to the specific questions or concrete proposals contained in my letters of August 14 and 15. There is nothing erroneous in my statements, as you maintain. It was because I publicly denounced, at a recent press conference, your manoeuvres in sending to Katanga only troops from Sweden—a country which is known by public opinion to have special affinities with the Belgian royal family—that you have suddenly decided to send African troops into that province.

If no member of the Security Council has taken the initiative to question the validity of your Memorandum and your plans of action it is because the members of the Council do not know exactly what is going on behind the scenes. Public opinion knows—and the members of the Security Council also know—that after the adoption of the last resolution you delayed your journey to the Congo for twenty-four hours solely in order to have talks with Mr. Pierre Wigny, Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs, administrator of mining companies in the Congo and one of those who plotted the secession of Katanga.

Before leaving New York for the Congo, the Congolese delegation, led by Mr. Antoine Gizenga, Vice-President of the Council of Ministers, urgently requested you to contact my Government immediately upon your arrival in Leopoldville and before going to Katanga—which was in conformity with the Security Council's resolution of July

14, 1960. I personally laid particular stress on this point in the letter I sent to you on August 12 through the intermediary of Mr. Ralph Bunche, your special representative.

Completely ignoring the legal Government of the Republic, you sent a telegram from New York to Mr. Tshombe, leader of the Katanga rebellion and emissary of the Belgian Government. Mr. Tshombe, again at the instigation of the Belgians placed at his side, replied to this telegram stipulating two conditions for the entry of United Nations troops into Katanga. According to the revelations just made by Mr. Tshombe at his press conference, you entirely acquiesced in the demands formulated by the Belgians speaking through Mr. Tshombe.

In view of all the foregoing, the Government and people of the Congo have lost their confidence in the Secretary-General of the United Nations. Accordingly, we request the Security Council today to send immediately to the Congo a group of observers representing the following countries: Morocco, Tunisia, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, the United Arab Republic, the Sudan, Ceylon, Liberia, Mali, Burma, India, Afghanistan and the Lebanon. The task of these observers will be to ensure the immediate and entire application of the Security Council resolutions of July 14 and 22 and August 9.

I earnestly hope that the Security Council, in which we place our full confidence, will grant our legitimate request. A delegation of the Government will accompany you in order to express its views to the Security Council. I would, therefore, ask you kindly to delay your departure for twenty-four hours in order to permit our delegation to travel on the same aircraft.

P. LUMUMBA

PERFIDY

(From a letter from the U.N. Secretary-General
to the Prime Minister of the Congo,
August 15, 1960)

Sir,

Your third letter of today's date has just been received. I have taken note of your intention to send a delegation to the Security Council to request the dispatch of a group of observers to ensure the implementation of the Council's resolutions. This request would seem to be based on the statement which you have made that you no longer have confidence in me.

I shall not discuss your repeated erroneous allegations or the new allegations added to those which you have already addressed to me. It is for the Security Council to judge their worth and to assess the confidence which the member countries have in the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

As regards the questions asked in your letters, to which you say you have had no reply, I refer you to the explanatory memorandum transmitted to you by Mr. Bunche. In it you will find all the necessary information.

You have requested me to delay my departure in order to enable the delegation of the Congo to travel on the same aircraft with me. I do not see the advantage of that arrangement, since it goes without saying that the Council will not meet until after the arrival of your delegation. In these circumstances, and as I have made all the preparations for my departure, I shall leave as indicated to you in an earlier letter today.

DAG HAMMARSKJÖLD

THE U.N. DOES NOT FULFIL ITS OBLIGATIONS

(Statement by Patrice Lumumba at a press
conference in Leopoldville,
August 16, 1960)

I have asked you to this press conference primarily to announce to you an important decision that the present situation has forced the Government of the Republic to take.

You shall see that we are conscious of the gravity of the hour and are not shirking our responsibilities. The reason for calling this conference is that I wanted to determine the present situation with you.

Yesterday, from the U.N. services, you received a version of the divergences between the U.N. Secretary-General and our Government. Some people are seeking to present this dispute as a question of personality, of personalities. I should like to emphasise here and now that the U.N. Secretary-General is a high officer in the service of an institution that we respect to the point that we have appealed to it (for aid—Tr.). However, here the question is to examine, on the basis of facts, the Secretary-General's mission and the manner in which he has or has not fulfilled this mission.

Everything was perfectly clear in the evening of July 14 in New York, when the Security Council decided, I quote the text of the resolution, "to authorise the Secretary-General to take, in consultation with the Government of the Republic of the Congo, all necessary measures with a view to giving that Government the military assistance it requires until such a time when the national security forces, thanks to the efforts of the Congolese Government and with the technical assistance of the United Nations, are, in the opinion of that Government, fully capable of carrying out their tasks".

From this it is quite clear that the Secretary-General had no business giving his own interpretation of the order instructing him to extend to our Government unrestricted military assistance, which we required and still require and with regard to which we are the sole judges.

We asked the U.N. for assistance, and it responded to our appeal. Our attitude towards the United Nations remains one of full trust. Strong and confident of our right, we are profoundly convinced that the U.N., which has already demonstrated its insight and impartiality with regard to us, will straightforwardly carry out the decisions it has adopted.

Let me emphasise once again that the matter concerns the maintenance of peace among nations.

That is why we regret some of the actions that have been taken by the Secretary-General, and you are bearing witness that these actions are only prolonging the crisis, which we are the first to deplore.

Incidents, which U.N. troops should have stopped long ago, are taking place every day because of the behaviour of the aggressive Belgian forces and because of certain ambiguities created by some groups.

On the other hand, all the Belgian magistrates have fled, leaving their offices in indescribable disorder, with the result that civil courts no longer exist.

We have decided to take immediate steps to hold in check all trouble-makers, white or black, in order to enable our people to retrieve their dignity and to restore legality and peace.

I shall now read you the ordinance that was promulgated by the Government today.

[P. Lumumba reads the text of the ordinance.]

I shall now give you some figures to show that with goodwill each can make his contribution towards the solution of our problems.

In the period from August 1 to 8, the Matadi-Leopoldville Railway transported 6,000 tons of timber. During the

past week this figure has been nearly trebled to 17,500 tons. In other words, in the past eight days we have restored the normal rhythm.

This encouraging result was achieved with only 5 per cent of the former European personnel. We greet the work that has been done by these people. The Government of the Republic takes this occasion to reaffirm the friendship of the Congolese population for the Belgian people. It confirms that it is ready to restore diplomatic relations with Belgium as soon as Belgian troops withdraw from the Congo, including the bases at Kitona and Kamina. We are prepared to renew friendly relations.

KATANGA MUST BE LIBERATED

(Statement made by Patrice Lumumba
at a press conference in Leopoldville,
August 17, 1960)

At my yesterday's press conference I stated the grave reasons that prompted the Government to ask the President of the Security Council to examine the question of immediately sending a group of neutral observers to the Congo to ensure control over the implementation of the resolution of July 14, 1960. Certain circles with interests in the Congo have qualified our position as a lack of confidence in the U.N. As I stated yesterday and repeat again, the matter here is not in a lack of trust or in any suspicion with regard to the U.N. On the contrary. The Government and the people of the Congo continue to trust the U.N. and its Security Council. What we have condemned, and that can be proved, is only the method by which the U.N. Secretary-General sought to implement the Security Council's resolutions. He acted as though there were no Government of the Republic.

The Congolese people regard his contacts and meetings with Tshombe as well as the assurances that he gave

Tshombe as treachery. Tshombe did not conceal the fact that he had official assurances from the U.N. Secretary-General. In conformity with the Security Council's resolutions, Mr. Hammarskjöld should not have had talks with Tshombe. Furthermore, the Secretary-General did not once show any desire to consult with the Government of the Republic as he was officially advised to do by the resolution of July 14, 1960. Consequently, a line must be drawn between the personal actions of Mr. Hammarskjöld, which we brand in the name of truth and justice, and the far-sighted policy of the United Nations. In the Congo nobody approves the steps that have so far been taken in the Congo issue by the U.N. Secretary-General. His interpretation of the Security Council's decisions clearly shows us his intentions. The Government is aware that certain circles seek to turn the Congo into a second Korea. And in order to achieve this purpose by roundabout ways, implementation of the decisions of an organ of the highest international authority is being delayed. Many crimes have been perpetrated in Katanga because of the U.N. Secretary-General's delay in carrying out the decisions of the United Nations.

The fact of the matter is that several scores of Congolese, military personnel and civilians, were shot two days ago. These repugnant crimes have been concealed from the public. Surely the U.N. Secretary-General knows about it. The conspiracy of silence designed to delude world public opinion is noteworthy. The Belgian press and the correspondents sent to Katanga assert that order reigns there, whereas in reality arbitrary shootings and arrests are occurring every day as a consequence of Tshombe's compact with Belgium. Every day I receive disturbing news from various parts of Katanga and every day the people of Katanga Province are asking the Government to intervene and deliver them from the oppression of the Belgium-Tshombe group. Conscience will not allow the Government to permit such a situation to continue in the

country. We wanted to go to the Security Council to condemn this situation, for all to hear, believing that if our official delegation were absent the Security Council might be misinformed. I asked the U.N. Secretary-General to postpone his departure for 24 hours to enable our Government delegation to accompany him. Our request was turned down. And yet in his letter of August 15, 1960, he assured me that the Security Council would meet only after the arrival of our delegation. To my great surprise and to the surprise of the whole of Congolese public opinion, I learned that the Security Council is to meet tomorrow morning although the delegation of the Congo has not left the country because of transportation difficulties.

This morning I cabled the President of the Security Council, asking him to postpone the meeting until the arrival of a delegation from the Congolese Government.

I hope that this well-founded request is complied with. Moreover, I hope that the Government will not be compelled to renounce the services of the U.N. In the event a decision we shall consider as undesirable is taken, that is to say, if a group of neutral foreign observers will not be sent with instructions to ensure control over the implementation of the Security Council's resolutions, the Government will, to its regret, be forced to consider other, speedier measures. More than a month of our hopes in the U.N. and of waiting has passed. It is over a month now that we have been waiting for its resolutions to be carried out.

It does not do for any country to lecture us or to tell us what road we should take if there is no desire to help us in the way we have asked and if it is contemplated to use our request for military aid to pursue other political aims. We are prepared to withdraw this request. Nobody can enter the Congo and no foreign power can set foot in our country and interfere in its affairs if it has not been specifically requested to do so by the legal Government of the Congo Republic. The Congo is a sovereign, inde-

pendent and free state with the same rights as France, Belgium, Britain and the U.S.A. We are the masters of our own destinies and we shall make the Congo into what we want her to be and not into what others want. Those who reproach me for telling the truth and exposing certain manoeuvres are giving themselves away in the face of this truth, because it will triumph in the very near future. Together with our people we shall defend our country to the end, regardless of the plots and manoeuvres of the Belgian colonialists and their allies. History will show who is right.

WHAT REALLY HAPPENED AT NDJILI

**(Statement made by Patrice Lumumba
at a press conference,
August 19, 1960)**

This morning Mr. Bunche handed me a note from the U.N. Secretary-General.

In it Mr. Hammarskjöld gives an account of a trivial incident between U.N. forces and the Congolese army. The Secretary-General and his representatives in Leopoldville have deliberately exaggerated this incident with the sole purpose of using it to further their aims on the eve of the Security Council meeting. Their purpose is to influence the opinion of the Security Council members in favour of the Secretary-General, who has compromised himself by his actions in Katanga. This manoeuvre must be publicly exposed.

What really happened is this. The Government of the Republic decreed a state of emergency throughout the country. On the other hand it was found that many foreigners are entering the Congo without the agreement of the Government of the Republic. For them the Congo has become an international market. These people are spying and continuously instigating disorders in the country.

In this situation it was decided to check the identity of all passengers of aircraft belonging to foreign powers. This check was conducted with every sign of courtesy.

Upon the arrival of two aircraft transporting Canadian military personnel, the security forces wished to check the identity of these passengers. But the latter flatly refused to produce their identification papers and hurled coarse language at the Congolese officials.

And even graver was the fact that Swedish troops of the U.N. force prevented the legal authorities from carrying out this check.

It was, first and foremost, this attitude of the passengers and then the behaviour of the European troops of the U.N. that started the incident.

Let me point out that every day troops of the National Army are attacked and unjustly insulted by U.N. European military personnel. The latter seek to take the place of the Government of the country and the legal authorities.

Moreover, some days ago I notified Mr. Bunche, the General-Secretary's special representative, of the Government's decision to have all the airfields in the Republic turned over to the exclusive control of troops of the National Army.

The United Nations representatives refused to comply with this decision of the supreme authority of the Republic.

In view of this insolent attitude of the United Nations white troops sent into the Congo, the Government was compelled to demand their immediate withdrawal and allow only African troops to enter the Congo under U.N. control. This will enable us to avoid a cold war, because some states are now using units sent to the Congo from certain European countries to further their own interests. This has already been proved, and for the benefit of the Security Council I stress once again that the Government of the Republic has passed a decision on the withdrawal of all military units belonging to European nations.

We have stated, on the other hand, that the United Nations special representative in the Congo has distributed U.N. armbands among Belgian nationals and that they have used this badge to attack the Congolese population.

The U.N. Secretary-General declares in his note that he will be obliged to ask the Security Council to reconsider the entire United Nations action in the Congo. This blackmail by the Secretary-General does not surprise us.

To this my reply is that for its part the Government of the Republic is prepared to renounce the services of the United Nations, because the Congo, a sovereign and independent country, is nobody's property. We can easily and quickly restore order by ourselves and with the direct assistance that we can get from a number of countries, which have already given us their selfless support.

The Government of the Republic:

1. condemns the personal actions of the U.N. Secretary-General;
2. demands the immediate withdrawal of white troops, who were behind the latest incidents and who have shown bad intent with regard to the Republic;
3. demands and repeats its request that a group of observers from neutral countries, a list of which has already been submitted to the Security Council, be sent to the Congo;
4. confirms its desire loyally to co-operate with the United Nations in establishing peace on earth.

Patrice Lumumba concluded his statement by pointing out that it was only the intervention of some African states that forced the Secretary-General to give up his intention of placing the Congolese Government before an accomplished fact by convening the Security Council before the arrival of a Congolese delegation.

He confirmed the trust of the Congolese Government in the United Nations and the Security Council. "We appealed for the services of the United Nations ourselves,"

he emphasised. "If some countries aspire to use the Secretary-General for their own purposes, we say to them that they will be condemned by the African peoples." Lumumba pointed out that even if circumstances compelled the Congolese Government to renounce the services of the United Nations, it would not mean that the Congo would withdraw from that organisation because it did not identify the actions of individuals with the ideals of the United Nations.

U.N. SECRETARY-GENERAL VERSUS THE PARLIAMENT AND GOVERNMENT OF THE CONGO

On September 10, Patrice Lumumba, Prime Minister of the Congo, sent the Secretary-General of the United Nations the following Solemn Appeal by the Government of the Republic of the Congo to the President and members of the Security Council and to all the member states of the United Nations.

In a Memorandum dated September 8, 1960, and addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the President of the Security Council, the Government of the Republic of the Congo drew attention to the United Nations' flagrant interference in the internal affairs of the Congo. Conclusive proof was given of this interference. The statement just made in the Security Council by the U.N. Secretary-General that Mr. Kasavubu had the right to depose the Government only confirms this interference.

Moreover, the position adopted by the Secretary-General runs counter to the sovereign decisions of the Congolese Parliament, which in two ballots, with a considerable majority of votes in each ballot, annulled the decree illegally issued by Mr. Kasavubu.

It is not the U.N. Secretary-General's business to in-

interpret the Fundamental Law of the land; that is the duty of the Congolese Parliament. Article 51 states that the "formal interpretation of laws is the exclusive responsibility of the Chambers". In their interpretation, in particular, of Article 22, according to which the "Head of State appoints and deposes the Prime Minister and Ministers", the two Chambers of the Congolese Parliament, which annulled the decree of the Head of State, came to the conclusion that a government can be appointed or deposed only after Parliament has passed a vote of confidence or no confidence.

The Head of State cannot appoint a government without the sanction of Parliament and that, to an equal degree, applies to the deposition of a government, which must follow the same procedure. Furthermore, in their interpretation, the Congolese legislative Chambers declared that insofar as the Government, headed by Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba, and the Head of State Mr. Kasavubu, had been approved separately by Parliament, only the latter had the right to depose the one or the other.

Basing itself on the confidence unanimously expressed in the Government by Parliament, which is the only sovereign body in the country, the Government of the Republic lodges a further protest against the interference of Secretary-General Hammarskjöld in the internal affairs of the Congolese nation. This interference is a grave threat to confidence in the United Nations and its prestige not only in the Congo but also throughout Africa and, essentially, throughout the world. In addition, the Government of the Republic lodges a further protest against the repeated refusal of the United Nations authorities in the Congo to co-operate with the Government in implementing the Security Council's resolutions. In the interests of universal peace, the Government urgently requests the United Nations:

1. Firmly to recommend to the Secretary-General and his colleagues in the Congo that they should cease interfer-

ing in the internal affairs of our Republic directly or indirectly.

2. Not to adopt any further resolutions on the Congo insofar as the resolutions already adopted are perfectly clear and specific but have not been fully implemented because of the perfidy of the Belgian Government and its allies, who are continuing to help the illegal and rebel Government of Katanga with supplies of aircraft, arms and ammunition and with liaison and line officers.

To this is added the fact that the United Nations authorities are deliberately holding up the implementation of the concrete and unequivocal decisions of the Security Council.

The Congolese Government cannot be deceived by these intrigues, which are turning the dispute between the Congo and Belgium into a dispute between the Government of the Congo and the United Nations only ten days after our Republic formally became a member of the U.N.

The Government most emphatically protests against the contention of the Secretary-General that troops of the National Army must be disarmed. Being perfectly aware that the troops of the National Army did not submit to a similar demand by Mr. Kasavubu, who ordered the Congolese militia to lay down their arms, the Secretary-General would like to continue with a demonstration of force only in order to start a war in the Congo in which the Congolese population would find itself in conflict with the armed forces of the United Nations.

The sole purpose of all this is to establish an international trusteeship over the Congo. Moreover, by such arbitrary actions as the seizure of our national radio station and all the airfields in the Republic, the Secretary-General seeks to deprive the Government of the means of broadcasting and to prevent any outflow of information in order to allow Tshombe and the illegal radio stations that have been recently set up near Leopoldville to continue their

attempts at a coup d'état. These stations are daily spreading active anti-Government propaganda, lies, slander and insults in order to discredit the legal Government, which has the support of the overwhelming majority of the people.

This morning the Government informed the U.N. Headquarters for the fifth time that it must regain the use of its national radio station. Anxious to restore peace and order in the Congo and to retain good relations with the United Nations, the Government of the Republic of the Congo solemnly and passionately appeals to all the countries of the world to take steps to prevent the Congo from being turned into a battlefield of a third world war.

P. LUMUMBA

CHAPTER III

AN UNFORGETTABLE PERSONALITY

Thousands of people have met and talked to Patrice Lumumba. His vivid personality attracted people and charmed them by its breadth and inner wealth. Small wonder, therefore, that so much has been written about him. People who met him have tried to convey the features of this man, who raised aloft the banner of struggle against colonialism in the heart of Africa, who courageously championed the legal rights of his people.

Lumumba's tragic death at the hands of murderers started a stream of reminiscences that re-create his unforgettable personality.

The reminiscences offered in this chapter were written by people of different nationalities and at different times. They convincingly show the greatness, dignity, patriotism and selflessness of this heroic son of Africa.

* * *

SUCH WAS LUMUMBA

By Yuri ZHUKOV, Soviet publicist

The teletypes ticked away, hurrying to overtake time. Coils of yellowish tape filled with tiny letters steadily piled up as a violent storm of news raged in the ether:

the whole world was vehemently protesting against the murder of Lumumba. And out of this tempest came a brief, cynical Associated Press dispatch from Elisabethville via New York, stating that Lumumba's body had been burnt. One of Mobutu's airmen, a certain Jack Dixon, who transported the captive Lumumba to Elisabethville, told correspondents: "They tore the hair from his head and tried to force him to eat it. . . ."

They tore the hair from his head and tried to force him to eat it. I do not know who this airman is, but his cold-blooded, unemotional description of the tortures to which the man he was taking to the executioner was subjected sounds like something out of S.S. records.

As I gazed at this unevenly torn piece of teletype, somewhere in the distance I saw the proud and energetic face of a great man who remained unconquerable no matter how he was tortured, and who, even after his death, struck such fear in the hearts of his executioners that they hastily burnt his body and scattered the ashes. I could not resist the temptation to describe my meetings with this fascinating man during the days when Hammarskjöld's sleek officials were bowing to him with servile smiles, when the conspirators preparing to overthrow the legal Government and murder its head vowed fidelity and followed him like shadows.

We arrived in Leopoldville in the latter half of August 1960 to discuss cultural relations with the Minister of Education of the Congo: the young Republic was asking for doctors, for aid to organise the training of specialists in the Congo herself and abroad, and technical assistance to repair a radio station, whose transmitter had been partially put out of commission by the colonialists when they left Leopoldville.

After a long non-stop flight, our aircraft landed on the splendid concrete-paved runway of a modern aerodrome. There was a deathly stillness when the screaming of the motors died down. It seemed as though we had landed on

an uninhabited island. With the exception of several big-bellied U.S. military transport planes used to airlift U.N. troops to the Congo, the aerodrome was deserted. We pushed open the door of our aircraft and while we debated the problem of how to climb down to the ground, we saw a gangway moving slowly in our direction. It was being pushed by several men, black and white. They made friendly gestures.

Soon we found they were the Minister of Education and officials from the Soviet Embassy who had come to meet us. We were given a very warm welcome and were soon sitting in the Minister's small office and talking shop. . . .

Driving past the Parliament building, we saw the flags of many African countries waving over the entrance. A conference of leading statesmen of the Congo, Ghana, Guinea, the Cameroons, Togo, Ethiopia, Liberia, the Sudan, Morocco, the United Arab Republic and Angola, who had gathered together to condemn the colonialist intrigues against the Congo's independence, had just been opened in the Congolese capital by the Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba. On the next day we read his courageous and moving speech in the newspaper Congo, which had the words "The first Congolese daily newspaper owned by Africans" in a box on the front page.

In those days Leopoldville was taking on the appearance of a besieged city. Military trucks and jeeps filled with helmeted soldiers armed with automatic rifles and submachine-guns sped across the deserted streets. The colour of the helmets showed who these troops were: red-stripped white helmets were worn by the military police, dark-green helmets by the armed forces of the Congolese Republic and blue helmets by the U.N. force. There was unrest at the big Leopold military camp, which had for some time been attracting the special attention of correspondents. There was hardly any discipline in the camp: the men were openly grumbling that they were not get-

ting their pay and that the food was bad. Their wives, who lived with them, complained that they had nothing to feed their children with. . . .

In the evening the Prime Minister gave a dinner for the delegates to the All-African Conference. The entire diplomatic corps and foreign visitors to Leopoldville were invited. A military band played in a shady flood-lit garden on the bank of the mighty African river. The envoys of the different African countries, dressed in their colourful costumes, began to arrive. The ambassadors of the Western countries were present, dressed in tuxedos and frock-coats. Some of them tried to make a show of courtesy but did not always succeed.

The guests were met by the Prime Minister, a tall, slender man of thirty-five. His energetic, animated face instantly impressed itself on one's memory—the piercing, glowing brown eyes that reflected profound assurance and spiritual dignity seemed to look into your very soul.

This man appeared on the political scene very recently, only three years before. But these were years of intense activity, years when he and his friends acquired tremendous experience.

Upon being told that we were from Moscow, Lumumba warmly greeted us and invited us to come to see him on the next day. At the reception we met some of Lumumba's friends: Deputy Prime Minister Gizenga, a short, cool and sober-minded man; the young and cheerful Minister for Youth Affairs and Sports Mpolo, and others.

I sat at the same table with a delegate from an African country. He wore long snow-white robes and a Moslem fez. In front of us sat the ambassador of a Western country with an absent-minded smile on his face and Minister of Foreign Affairs Bomboko, dressed in a tuxedo and playing the role of a genial host who deeply regretted that due to circumstances beyond his control his guests were not really enjoying themselves.

The foreign diplomat first chatted about the weather,

then squinting at his neighbour said that as a civilised person he deplored unjustified arrests.

"You're right in principle," the African sitting beside me suddenly responded. "But not one of the Western correspondents, who write so much about unjustified arrests, has yet been able to give a single concrete example. Don't you think, Your Excellency, that a few arrests would be justified here in Leopoldville? Our friend Patrice Lumumba is much too generous."

The diplomat frowned and grew silent.

Meanwhile, the Prime Minister rose and took the floor. He spoke with passion, like the born orator he was. He said that the movement for freedom and unity now sweeping across Africa was irreversible. An end would be put to the colonial system once and for all. He called upon the representatives of the Western Powers to show a sober understanding of reality and to co-operate with the Republic of the Congo as with an equal partner.

"We stretch out our hand to everybody who desires such co-operation," he said, "to the Americans and to the Russians, to the French and the British, and even to the Belgians, if they are prepared to stop their intervention."

The Western guests smiled courteously, but from the expressions on their faces it was obvious that what the Prime Minister said was not to their liking. My neighbour leaned over to me and whispered in my ear: "You can't expect anything good from them. Mark my words, Lumumba is standing on ceremony with their agents to no purpose."

The band struck up again. Waiters noiselessly served ice-cream on dishes with ice-cubes covered with the blue flames of burning rum. On the surface everything seemed to be quiet and peaceful. The hosts smiled at the guests, the ambassadors were engaged in polished chatter. A quite different note was injected into this atmosphere by the constant coming and going of liaison officers bringing dispatches. As we learned later, troops were moved to the

borders of Katanga Province while the reception was in progress. A military clash was becoming imminent in that province. At the time we knew nothing of this nor of the fact that somebody was preparing the operation in such a way as to send all troops loyal to Lumumba to the south and to leave in Leopoldville only those men who, led by Belgian officers carrying on underground, would not stop at overthrowing the legal Government. . . .

In the morning we went to the Prime Minister's residence, a small house on the bank of the Congo River, in which tiny islands of vegetation were floating by. Gay children's voices could be heard behind the thickly overgrown fence. Curly-headed youngsters were sliding down the banister of the porch. They were the Prime Minister's children; with curiosity that was mingled with pride they gazed at the helmeted sentries armed with submachine-guns and standing rigidly as though they were statues: for the children it was still a novelty to see their father guarded by such important personages.

The small drawing-room was filled with scores of people seeking an audience with the Prime Minister. You could feel they had been waiting for a long time. In vain did the tired secretary try to persuade them to take their affairs to the pertinent ministries. They insisted on seeing Lumumba: the merchant who wanted a license for his business, the official applying for a transfer to another town and the teacher asking for a rise in his salary. The state apparatus of the young Republic had not yet been knit together properly—there was still a lack of experience, and a multitude of cares distracted the Prime Minister from affairs of state.

We were taken to Lumumba through a back entrance, where, incidentally, there was also a crowd of people trying to slip through to the Prime Minister. When we entered his office, Lumumba dismissed the large group of officials crowding round his desk, which was piled high with papers and books, and sat down beside us on an old divan. Our conversation was interrupted time and again by telephone

calls. People rang him up on all matters, and every minute there was something he had to look into and settle.

While Lumumba spoke over the telephone we looked round his modest and simply furnished study. An automatic rifle lay on a shelf. There was a portable radio transmitter. After two plots to murder him had been uncovered the Prime Minister had been compelled to take certain precautions.

There was an infinitely weary look on his face, but his eyes continued to burn with indomitable energy. He had not slept at all in the past twenty-four hours and yet he was planning to fly to Stanleyville in the evening to be on hand to meet the Soviet aircraft bringing the foodstuffs the Government of the Soviet Union was sending as a gift to the people of the Congo. Two members of the Government, Lumumba told us, were going to the port of Matadi to receive the Soviet lorries coming by ship.

"This aid," the Prime Minister said with feeling, "is testimony of the friendship your people have for us. I would like you to tell the Soviet people that what they have done for us during these difficult days will never be forgotten."

Lumumba eagerly questioned us about the results of our talks with the Minister of Education. He wanted the Republic to have cultural relations with the Soviet Union and all other countries. He spoke with pain and anger of the backwardness into which the colonialists had forced his people. They had made fabulous fortunes by shamelessly exploiting the country's colossal deposits of uranium, gold, diamonds, copper and coal. And what had they given in return? During the period of their rule the population had decreased by almost fifty per cent. Starvation and disease were rife. There was universal illiteracy and poverty. The Congolese people now had to begin building up their country from the beginning and required immense aid. But where was that aid to come from? The Government of the Republic had expected much from the U.N., when

it had open-heartedly asked it to send an international force to drive the colonialists out and help restore order. But it looked as if by inviting this force the Congolese had got themselves out of the frying-pan only to fall into the fire. Hammarskjöld was behaving in much the same way as King Baudouin had. . . .

The Prime Minister smiled bitterly. His long nervous fingers twitched: he was deeply agitated by what was happening. The U.N. force was doing nothing to check the colonialists. No sooner would the Government uncover one plot than another would be hatched.

The Prime Minister spoke of the problems he was now working on to start the country's development: the creation of a network of hospitals, the preparations for the coming school year, the problem of where and how many young people to send to turn them into the highly trained specialists so acutely needed by the country, the problem of strengthening the state apparatus. . . .

He described the warm reception that the All-African Conference gave to the message sent to it by Soviet Prime Minister Khrushchov.

"He is our real and sincere friend," Lumumba said. "I have never met him personally, but I hope we shall meet some day. Please tell Mr. Khrushchov that our people thank him with all their hearts for his concern and support. We are confident that friendly relations based on mutual respect of each other's sovereignty will develop between our countries. The imperialists are doing their utmost to disrupt the Security Council's decision on the withdrawal of Belgian troops from the Congo. We Africans are, perhaps, still much too naïve, but we sincerely believed in the U.N. Charter and hoped it would be observed by the nations that had signed it. That was why we approached that organisation for help. But look what came of it."

Again a bitter smile came to his lips and he spread out his arms. An angry spark suddenly lit up his eyes.

"Never mind. Perhaps this will cost us dear, very dear, but the lesson will be learned by Africa. The peoples of Africa will realise who are our friends and who our enemies and how to distinguish between them. . . .

"We are not enemies of any country," Lumumba continued, "and we are prepared to co-operate with all countries. I made myself sufficiently clear on this point yesterday. But we are against oppression and exploitation. We did not free ourselves from bondage to the Belgians simply in order to put another yoke round our necks. No matter how events shape out, even if they are unfavourable for us, it will be useful for Africa, which is now watching us and closely following what is happening here—it will be a university of struggle for it. . . ."

He was about to add something, but the door opened with a bang and a group of military men strode into the room. They spoke excitedly.

The Prime Minister rose and, turning to me, said quietly in French:

"You must excuse me but something important has just happened. A group of Belgian officers in civilian dress have landed on the aerodrome. The U.N. has taken over control of the aerodromes on the pretext that it is a necessary step to avert civil war. We were told it was a 'neutralising' operation. Now you see what that word means. I must go to the aerodrome. . . ."

He repeated his request that we convey his heartfelt greetings and gratitude to the Head of the Soviet Government, said good-bye, quickly walked out into the street, took his place in a jeep filled with soldiers and drove off to the aerodrome.

I never had another opportunity of speaking to him, but I shall always remember this fearless and strong man, his expressive face with the small jet-black goatee, his big and deeply human sparkling eyes, his quick gestures, his light and fast gait, and his unique manner of speaking with clipped phrases and accentuated intonations that reflected

his deep conviction of the righteousness of every word he spoke.

He was a remarkable man in every respect and had his life not been cut short at the very beginning of his political career by those who feared him, he would, undoubtedly, have become one of the most outstanding personalities of our epoch. A man of talent and will, he could find his way out of the most difficult situations. He is now dead. But even in death he crows his executioners.

Such was Lumumba. Even after death he remains in the ranks of his people, who are continuing their struggle for freedom.

A LIFE GIVEN UP FOR THE PEOPLE

By Jean BULABEMBA, Congolese journalist

"There is no compromise between freedom and slavery," said Patrice Emery Lumumba, who sacrificed his life to bring real freedom to his people. Those who consider freedom as their exclusive prerogative murdered him in an effort to strangle Congolese nationalism.

"Africa will write her own history, and in both north and south it will be a history of glory and dignity," Lumumba wrote a few days before his death. The Congo already has its own history, but so far it is only a history of struggle, a history of a transitional period. The history of glory and dignity Lumumba spoke about will come.

Lumumba personifies the Congolese people. He chose the road of suffering, torture and, lastly, death rather than become a slave of the imperialists. He was firmly and deeply convinced that sooner or later his country would be completely independent. Like their leader, the Congolese people prefer to bear every form of suffering rather than see their freedom mutilated and trampled upon by those who for more than 80 years of colonial rule kept

them in such poverty and bondage that they are themselves ashamed of it.

The Congolese people are carrying on their struggle for true independence.

LUMUMBA AND THE CONGOLESE PEOPLE

The movement for the Congo's liberation had its own features. At first, when real nationalists led by Lumumba demanded complete independence, some political leaders in connivance with colonialist circles called for the creation of a commonwealth with Belgium. Shorn of its trimmings, it meant the retention of colonial rule in the Congo pure and simple. One man realised earlier and better than any other political leader what had to be done to carry the national-liberation movement to victory. His name was Patrice Emery Lumumba and his prime concern was to make his people conscious of themselves as a nation.

He was the first Congolese leader to come into contact with the people, to discuss their country's problems with them and to take their will into consideration. In 1958, when he returned from Accra, he organised a rally in Leopoldville's Victory Square. More than 15,000 men, women, young people and old folk flocked to the square to listen to him. It was the first time in the Congo's history that the people responded to a call from a compatriot. Until then they had been taught to obey only the instructions of the white man.

The rally's success surpassed all expectations. I was there. With other Congolese political leaders standing beside him, Lumumba spoke of the Conference in Accra in a clear and simple manner. The people listened to him quietly and attentively.

Confident in himself and speaking off the cuff, he told the people of the difficulties lying on the road to inde-

pendence. He repeatedly stressed the need for unity and national consciousness. "We are not unlike any other inhabitants of the world. The Congo is our country. We must be the masters in our homes. So let us this day begin the struggle for our rights. Let us unite and go forward to independence," he said.

The word "independence" struck a responsive chord in people's hearts. At that moment Lumumba established direct contact with his hearers. He had touched on their most cherished hopes. The people saw that he was the man to lead them to freedom. For his part Lumumba felt the response of his listeners.

He continued: "The colonialists seek to divide us in order to go on ruling us. Let us prove our maturity. Let us live like brothers. Independence is our birthright. We don't need anyone to present it to us because this country belongs to us. If the colonialists choose to ignore our lawful demands, we shall do everything to wrest our independence from them." The crowd responded with shouts of "Independence! Long live Lumumba! Independence!"

While the people voiced their heartfelt approval of Lumumba's statements, the few Belgians present in the square virtually writhed in fury. A Belgian official standing beside me turned purple with rage. In the meantime Lumumba went on speaking on the subject of national independence and the struggle to achieve it. Following Congolese custom, the speaker and his listeners began a dialogue. "Do you want to be the masters of your country?" Lumumba asked. "Yes," the people thundered in reply. "What is needed for that?" Lumumba continued. "Independence!" the people replied. This meeting, called for Congolese by Congolese, ended on a note of jubilation. Lumumba was the first man to awaken the people's national consciousness, which was to change the future of this old Belgian colony.

LUMUMBA AND THE CONGO'S POLITICAL LIFE

Naturally, the success of this Lumumba-organised rally required the continuation of political work among the people. Lumumba had no intention of tackling this task single-handed. He appealed to Congolese political leaders to unite in a single political bloc with independence as their common objective. He gave his political organisation the meaningful name of Congo National Movement (CNM), thereby underlining the aspiration for unity. Most of the political leaders responded favourably to Lumumba's appeal.

The colonialists attentively followed developments. Feeling the threat to their policy they immediately resorted to bribery. Huge sums of money passed into the hands of some political leaders on the understanding that they would break with Lumumba and oppose his efforts.

Drawing upon his own meagre resources, Lumumba toured the country and set up branches of the Congo National Movement which was gaining in popularity. The CNM's growing influence, due in large measure to Lumumba's efforts, furthered the development of the national-liberation movement in the Congo.

In Orientale Province support for the CNM was so overwhelming that branches were set up even in villages inhabited only by 20 persons or so. Lumumba personally toured the villages, speaking to the people. He knew several Congolese dialects and had no difficulty communicating with the people. He became the most popular figure in the country.

In the young states of Africa political activity requires exceptional endowments, particularly high spiritual qualities. The people loved Lumumba because they knew he shared their aspirations. Lumumba appreciated that political activity meant work with and among the people. He gave up a well-paid job and devoted himself entirely

to politics. His travels about the country took him to the farthest corners. He appealed to the people and they responded to his appeals. He shared the unhappy lot of the Congolese nation and understood its sufferings, and the support he got from the people encouraged him to press for radical changes.

Throughout his career as a political leader Lumumba preached fraternal love between all Congolese. And he practised what he preached. When Kasavubu was arrested following the events of January 4, 1959, in Leopoldville, Lumumba took steps to obtain his release.

He looked for ways of forming an alliance with all Congolese leaders in order to begin a general offensive against the colonialists. In spite of the difficulties, he went to the people and said to them: "Let us continue the struggle. Let us be solidly behind our brothers who have been arrested by the colonialists in an effort to divide us."

LUMUMBA DIRECTS THE NATIONAL STRUGGLE FOR IMMEDIATE INDEPENDENCE

The political situation in the country grew tense after the arrests that followed the demonstration in Leopoldville on January 4, 1959. Developments in the Congo forced the Belgian Government to carry out a political and administrative reform.

This reform was announced in a declaration by the King and Government of Belgium on January 13, 1959. It mentioned independence.

The publication of this declaration sparked off a fresh upsurge of the struggle for national independence. The development of the national-liberation struggle depended on the positions adopted by the Congolese leaders. In this situation, the stand taken by Lumumba attracted nationwide attention and, in particular, the attention of Belgian political leaders.

Lumumba suggested convening a round-table conference of Belgian and Congolese leaders to work out the ways that would lead the Congo to immediate independence. The colonialists rejected his plan, refusing to talk with Congolese leaders whom they regarded as "unrepresentative".

The demand for a round-table conference received widespread support in Leopoldville and other major towns in the Congo. Lumumba's proposals were approved by all the nationalist leaders. At this decisive moment of the struggle for national independence Lumumba did his utmost to unite the efforts of all the political leaders. On his initiative, representatives of Congolese political parties gathered together several times to work out a common policy. Lumumba, of course, played an important role in these quests for a joint line and greatly influenced the decisions that were taken.

When the Belgian authorities flatly refused to meet the Congolese leaders, whom they continued to regard as "unrepresentative", Lumumba appealed to the people to go out into the streets and peaceably demonstrate their aspiration for freedom.

In 1959 he organised two congresses. CNM leaders gathered at the first congress, and at the second all the nationalist parties reached agreement on a joint plan of action.

The CNM congress was held at a time when it was obvious that the colonialists would try to start disorders. While the congress was in session in the large hall of the Mangobo Commune in Stanleyville, Belgian-officered soldiers and gendarmes patrolled the street outside. The presence of the soldiers in no way cooled passions, but Lumumba succeeded in avoiding any worsening of the situation. He constantly called upon the population to remain calm and warned them against provocateurs. The congress adopted resolutions demanding independence without delay, the Africanisation of personnel and

an immediate meeting between Congolese and Belgian leaders.

Lumumba hardly slept at all during the days the congress was in session. After the sittings he could be seen in the secretariat offices, typing and helping out in other ways. He received delegations, discussed various problems with congress delegates and other visitors, wrote statements for the press and held press conferences.

At this time there was tension between the civilian population and troops commanded by Belgian officers. This tension reached white heat when the congress of the nationalist parties opened. Lumumba went to Leroy, the governor of Orientale Province, and warned him that the behaviour of the army, which was in a mood to fire upon the crowds, was fraught with dangerous consequences.

On Lumumba's suggestion the congress sent a telegram to the Belgian Government demanding that the colonial authorities arrange a meeting between Congolese and Belgian leaders without delay. The Belgian Government replied that it had no intention whatever of discussing the Congo's future with Congolese leaders. The reply came in the evening. The congress had hoped it would be more or less favourable. After reading the telegram, Lumumba said: "I propose we break with Belgium," and the delegates unanimously shouted their approval.

The Belgian officers observing the congress through the windows broke into the premises and threw tear-gas bombs. Lumumba courageously went to the Belgians and told them to leave the hall. It was the first time in the history of the Belgian colony that white officers were compelled to obey an African.

Lumumba's courageous behaviour won the warm approval of the crowds outside. More and more people filled the street. In the face of the provocative actions of the troops, the people of Stanleyville armed themselves with spears, bows and arrows, knives and other weapons. The situation was becoming tense. The Belgian officers com-

pletely lost control over themselves and began to fire at the crowd after the Congolese soldiers refused to fire at their brothers. When the first Congolese was struck down by the officers' bullets, Lumumba went to the dead man, lifted him in his arms and wept. The sight of Lumumba weeping with bullets whistling in the air round him made the people reply to the fire of the Belgian officers. Some of the officers fell to the ground, their hearts pierced by arrows. Lumumba wished to stop further bloodshed, and in this confusion he called upon the people to remain calm. They obeyed him and dispersed, leaving the street to the troops.

Disturbances broke out again that night. Lumumba was somewhere at the other end of the city, and when he arrived at the trouble spot it was already too late. Dead troops and civilians, black and white, lay on the road. The authorities ordered ruthless repressions. A warrant for Lumumba's arrest was issued on the next day.

The news of Lumumba's arrest spread like wildfire in Leopoldville, capital of the Congo. The colonialists desperately looked for support among the Congolese leaders, but they could find very little of it. The rallies organised by the CNM drew huge crowds. Resolutions supporting Lumumba were sent to Brussels. Delegations of the different strata of the population went to the Belgian authorities in the Congo and demanded Lumumba's immediate release.

Daily the political situation worsened. The elections to local organs of power, set for the end of 1959, drew near. The nationalist parties decided to boycott these elections. Though in prison, Lumumba continued to direct the activities of his supporters, and his letters reached their destinations despite the close surveillance. Naturally, he was assisted by Congolese troops. It is interesting to note that in spite of the strict measures that were taken by the colonial authorities, almost all of these troops were members of the CNM and had party membership cards.

LUMUMBA AND THE BRUSSELS ROUND-TABLE CONFERENCE

In January 1960, the Belgian Government convened a round-table conference in Brussels. It was attended by Congolese leaders and Belgian representatives. At the time the conference opened Lumumba was transferred from Stanleyville to a prison in Jadotville that was notorious as a torture chamber. He was barefoot, handcuffed and bore the marks of beatings. He had been man-handled on the way.

The Brussels conference opened without Lumumba, but his representatives were there. The proceedings dragged on for several days without any agreement being reached. The Congolese leaders made it plain to the Belgian authorities that the conference would break down unless the repressions against Congolese were stopped and Lumumba was permitted to attend the conference. This condition was complied with.

In Brussels Lumumba was met by the majority of the Congolese leaders and journalists. He showed them his wounds. In a statement to the press he appealed to the Belgians and Congolese to reach agreement on the early achievement of independence by the Congo.

His presence at the round-table conference cleared the atmosphere. He played a particularly noteworthy role in naming the day for the proclamation of independence. At the conference he publicly exposed the manoeuvres of some Belgian financial groups, who were seeking to split the Congolese and thereby divide the Congo. He even walked out of the conference, and only returned when Tshombe's lawyer, a Belgian named Humblet, was excluded from its sittings. He realised that the objective was to legalise Katanga's secession and called attention to the danger. The other Congolese leaders supported him and condemned the activities of Tshombe, who in view of the general discontent was compelled to give assurances that he had

never advocated Katanga's secession. But subsequent events showed that this was a lie.

An Executive Council, which included Congolese members, was set up during the round-table conference on Lumumba's suggestion. This Council was attached to the Governor-General of the Congo and, in principle, its job was to help prepare the proclamation of independence and the parliamentary elections.

Upon their return to the Congo the national leaders were given a jubilant reception by the people. The Congolese were proud that their leaders had been successful. An election campaign began. Lumumba won the election in April 1960. This was frowned upon by the colonialists, who did their utmost to keep Lumumba away from power. But they came up against the people's determination, against Congolese reality. In spite of all their intrigues, Lumumba became the Prime Minister of the Republic of the Congo. His deputy was Antoine Gizenga, who later carried on his work.

LUMUMBA AND THE CONGO'S INDEPENDENCE

The colonialists' plots aimed at giving the country only formal independence were exposed by Lumumba long before June 30, 1960, the day the independence of the Republic of the Congo was proclaimed. He went to the people, explaining the political situation to them and uniting them. Rallies were held all over the country. Lumumba secured a basic agreement among the nationalist parties with regard to unity of action. These parties subsequently formed the Lumumba or nationalist bloc.

On June 30, 1960, when the people of the Congo were celebrating their independence, the Belgians were already dreaming of regaining control over the country. But in spite of all their intrigues against Lumumba, he remained in power right up to the grimmest period of his political career.

Six days after independence was proclaimed, the people of the Congo ran into an emergency precipitated by the colonialists. Everybody knows what that emergency was. In those days and right up to the last minute of his life, Lumumba showed he was a great leader guiding the destinies of his people whom he had always served devotedly.

Lumumba's life was a continuous struggle for the Congo's interests. With the support of the people he became the Head of Government and the leader of the national-liberation movement in the country. Today, when he is dead, his people remember him, his cause and his life.

We are confident that the righteous cause for which many of the Congo's sons have given their lives will ultimately triumph.

IN THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE

By Henri LAURENT, Belgian journalist

His name appeared on the political horizon in the days when the rattle of Tommy-guns was heard in Leopoldville and Stanleyville.

Baudouin I, King of Belgium, had arrived in the Congo. That was in December 1959. Lumumba, founder of the Congo National Movement Party, was in prison. The king, it was said, would establish concord between the whites and the Negroes. The royal triumphal voyage was announced as though white men had never shed the blood of Negroes, as though the Congolese would fall down on their faces at the sight of the white king and chant his praise for his benefactions. Inwardly, the colonialists felt jittery. They were wondering whether it would not be the other way round, whether the king would not be hooted. They started cleverly spreading rumours among the Congolese. It was whispered into their ears that Baudouin I was a

"good white man", that he would have Patrice Lumumba released from prison into which the "bad white men" had thrown him.

They were obliged to release him only when the notorious round-table conference started in Brussels, at which the independence of the Congo was fixed for June 30, 1960. Lumumba arrived at the conference with the marks of manacles on his wrists. Like the other Congolese leaders, he was an object of exaggerated attentions. Money was offered to him. Hypocritical expressions of regret at his ill-treatment were made to him.

Of course, Count Gobert d'Aspremont-Lynden, the Grand Maréchal of the Court of Baudouin I, was not at the conference in person. But his nephew, Count Harold d'Aspremont-Lynden, was. The interests of the first administrator of the Katanga Company were defended by the second. Now that nephew is a member of the Belgian Cabinet.

Minister Ganshof van der Meersch also addressed the conference. He pressed his hand to his heart and was profuse in his expressions of love for the Congolese. His son, a naturalised American citizen, arrived in Belgium at that time. He had come to Brussels to explore the ground in the interests of powerful financial corporations in the U.S.A. Others behind the scenes were Gillet and Cousin, President and General Director of the Union Minière, Humblé, President of l'Union des Colons of Katanga, who practically came out in support of Tshombe. Colonel Weber was there, too, the man who was replaced by the French Colonel Trinquier as head of Tshombe's legions, the legions of the Union Minière.

Lumumba was hard at work organising his movement in view of the coming general elections in the Congo. The colonialists had done their best to create a host of petty tribal opposition groups against him. Being set on securing the election of a Congolese Parliament that would serve them faithfully, they went to work still more intensively

to fan inter-tribal animosity. Already at that time they were keeping Tshombe in reserve.

Proclaim the "independence" of Katanga? Why, what for? Everything in good time! The thing was, first, to try to keep the Congo whole. So the colonialists put on winning smiles for Lumumba. . . .

But when the elections were held, when Lumumba's Party won a sweeping victory, which made it impossible to create a parliamentary majority against him, they got the wind up and started to manoeuvre. Lumumba was to be in the Government but not as its head. The idea was to make him a political captive, to use his name and prevent him from pursuing his own policy. It was like trying to make an elephant play the role of a mouse!

When this plan failed the Union Minière people called in their reserves. They praised Tshombe to the skies. They proclaimed the "independence" of Katanga, from where they hoped to reconquer the whole of the Congo.

What happened next, everyone knows. The armed intervention by Belgium, the United Nations. . . . The Central Government of the Republic was hamstrung by Hammar-skjöld. The soldiers of this Government were disarmed on the pretext that all bloodshed was to be avoided. . . . At the same time Tshombe armed his forces with impunity! In the end Lumumba was delivered over to him bound hand and foot.

The imperialists knew what victim to choose. They dealt a dastardly blow at the symbol of Congolese independence and liberty. But do they really believe that in destroying the symbol they will destroy the cause it stood for? Lumumba was the object of their blind hatred. Things reached a point during the general strike in Belgium where the reactionary newspapers frequently represented the most respected leaders of the workers, the most courageous fighters for the cause of the working class, as people who "emulate Lumumba"! Actually, this cry of hatred was an admission of glory.

Following the expressions of horror which the murder of Patrice Lumumba and his two associates has evoked in the Congo and throughout the world, I hear the stirring cry "Justice!" This cry has reached Belgium, where those who paid Lumumba's assassins and shed the blood of the workers during the strike are hiding in their rich salons. The blood of the Prime Minister of the Congo, the blood of the workers of Belgium—the circle is completed. Imperialism stands branded with the badge of infamy.

MEETINGS WITH LUMUMBA

By Romano LEDDA, Italian journalist

"You say you are an Italian journalist and wish to get a visa for the Congo? Why do you wish to go there?" those were the first words Patrice Lumumba said to me in Conakry at the residence of Sekou Toure.

Why? It was the beginning of August 1960. The whole world was watching Lumumba, and this man whom nearly two hundred journalists were hunting all over Africa was asking me: "Why?" For more than ten days I had waited in suspense in the hope of finding an aircraft that was going to the Congo from the Guinean capital. I was beginning to grow desperate when Lumumba arrived on his tour of the capitals of African states. I pinned all my hopes on my talk with him and therefore prepared a long speech. With his simple question he made that speech unnecessary, and all I could do was to mumble some words that sounded banal to my own ears.

I watched him as he looked through my papers. . . . Tall and very thin, the Head of the Congolese Government bore the marks of the suffering he had gone through in prison and of the strain of his present work. The austere black suit gave his elegant figure and his entire appearance a modesty that was devoid of any ostentation. But his face was what

really attracted me: small, with a sharp chin and a goatee that made him look wily and even sly, it became unusually naïve-looking and good-natured as soon as the lips parted in a broad smile.

And then the eyes. Infinitely lively, they reflected all the anxieties and sufferings of the last months of his life: the sufferings of a prisoner of the Belgians, the pride of the Prime Minister of the Congolese Republic, love for the people, abhorrence of injustice, responsiveness to the pulse of Africa, the fury of struggle, and responsibility before history. It seemed as though one image was superimposed over another, changing the picture of Lumumba that I had brought with me from Europe and my first superficial impressions, but making it impossible as yet to form a firm opinion of him.

"I'm sorry," he said with a foxy smile, "but unfortunately I cannot give you a visa for the Congo because all the airports are under U.N. control. All I can offer you is to come with me in my aircraft. But you will have to be patient. You will have to follow me to Monrovia, Accra and Lome. We'll go on to the Congo after that."

...It was more than I had hoped for. For nearly three days I travelled with Lumumba and could see him almost at any time I liked. I found that this person, so hated and slandered in the West, was really one of the most generous and most earnest men in the African continent, one of the most courageous fighters and one of the most gifted and modern-thinking leaders of the national, anti-imperialist movement.

* * *

The official reasons for our meetings with Lumumba were the communiqués on talks first with Tubman, then with Nkrumah and, finally, with Sylvanus Olympio. But in the aircraft and after official banquets he frequently looked for us to have a talk, hear our opinions and some-

times, if there was a need for it, to discuss what one or another journalist was planning to write.

In Lome, Togo, for example, we witnessed the political meetings between Lumumba and Olympio. Hostile to any form of "protocol" (but by no means ignoring the importance of the position he occupied), Lumumba wanted us to sit with his delegation in the meeting room, declaring that he had "nothing to hide from the world". That is why, when the talks ended, we remained behind and got into a conversation. Lumumba had recently returned from a visit to the United States, and Tom Brady of *The New York Times* asked him what he thought of the country. Lumumba said he found it a wonderful country and that he had been given a magnificent reception.

"As a matter of fact," he noted, "some centuries ago America fought for her independence against foreigners. It would seem that the Americans should never forget it, but it looks to me as if they are beginning to forget."

"Why do you think so?" Brady asked.

"Look what's happening in the United Nations," Lumumba replied. "We gazed at the world, at the whole world, with trust. I am not a Communist, although you maintain that I am. But America, no matter how things go, is on the side of the colonialists. Perhaps she's not on the side of Belgium, but it's obvious that in using the U.N. she has her eye on our riches. It's like that business over the aircraft, for which I was attacked by newspapermen. I flew to America in a Russian plane. That is true. I asked the Americans for a plane, but they refused to let me have one after procrastinating with their reply for two whole days. What was I to do? I asked the Russians for a plane, and they put one at my disposal in two hours. Now it is said that I am a Communist. But judge for yourself what was more important: to be regarded a Communist or to turn down an opportunity to go to the U.N. to defend our interests there? Judge for yourself."

After this many people said Lumumba was an empiricist, that he manoeuvred wherever he could, turning this way and that, shifting and dodging. I do not share that opinion. At that time he was only learning to administer a state that had risen from nothing, and in everything he did he proceeded from his own perception of the world. Man was the main thing. All else was mystification. All men want to be free, and that is why all people can and must help the Congo. The only "but" here is that this aid must in no way restrict the Congo's freedom.

Pursuing this general line, he trusted everybody, even adventurist businessmen who, seeking publicity, spoke of unreal projects and gave out that they were planning to put money into them. This went on for the first few weeks after he came to power. But later, in August 1960, he began to be more discriminating. This was dictated by the nature of the struggle, whose objective was to win political and economic independence for the country. Neither Tom Brady nor any of the others who called Lumumba a "frenzied Communist" understood this at the time.

* * *

Keen, enthusiastic and determined to fulfil his role as leader of the Congolese, Lumumba was a calm person by nature and, despite his youth, inclined to meditation. He was thirty-four, but he was weighted down by the entire burden of seventy-five years of grief, slavery and poverty. He had absorbed into himself, as it were, all of his people's sufferings.

The whole Government came to the aerodrome to meet him when we landed in Leopoldville. A small group of journalists, myself among them, accompanied him to his home. Formerly the residence of the Belgian governor, the house was built in the taste of a Flemish sausage-maker: salons decorated in baroque alternated with small, colonial-style drawing-rooms, and the only really beautiful things



Patrice Lumumba speaks on arrival in Stanleyville, August 1960

in it were the tragic and grotesque totems from the African bush. Lumumba refused to move into one of the magnificent villas built by Belgian businessmen on a hill. He turned the house virtually into a camp, dividing the rooms into living premises and offices.

His wife and three children waited at the entrance. The small woman, who was still unused to the role of wife of a man the whole world was talking about, and the man, who for a moment forgot everything about him, merged in a long and moving embrace. With a happy look on his face he introduced his three children, François, Juliana and Patrice, the eldest, who asked his father if he had brought back a cowboy hat.

A few minutes later (it was about 11 p.m.), Lumumba made a short statement to more than two hundred newsmen about his trip to America and his African tour, and then got the Government together to analyse the situation. The meeting ended at about four in the morning. I later learned that he worked eighteen hours a day, because he had to look into all sorts of problems, even trifling ones. He patiently endeavoured to satisfy all callers.

There were many volumes in his bookcase: speeches by Sekou Toure and Nkrumah, magazines, poetry, and a biography of Simon Kimbangu.

"All these books," he said, "reached me in the past few years through underground channels. They were our daily bread in the days when we had the luck to be out of prison."

I saw Lumumba nearly every day at his routine press conference. He would walk into the big room, make a short statement and then answer questions for about an hour. At these press conferences each newsman, who was in any way fair, could appreciate Lumumba's statemenship despite the young Prime Minister's native simplicity and inexperience. He was guided by modern ideas suggested to him by the experience of revolution, which although modern in spirit clashed with the reality that was only

just crystallising, with tribal differences, ethnic contradictions, and the grim heritage of colonial rule.

There was, I remember, an amazing press conference in connection with events that disturbed the peace in the city and brought rival tribes into collision. At that press conference Lumumba spoke of national unity, of the honour of being conscious that one was a Congolese and not a Baluba or a Batetela. He spoke of the sacrifices that the people would have to make to create a nation, of the patience that was needed to put an end to the deep-rooted enmity. He was afraid of a war between the Congolese and did his utmost to avert it. That was why he tolerated in his Government even his enemies who were already plotting against him.

* * *

Although these contacts were considerable, each of us wanted to know more, to speak to Lumumba personally, to get interviews from him and learn what was uppermost in his mind. But that was impossible. Pressure of work put him out of our reach.

And yet I had the great luck to see him outside a press conference.

We newsmen were told to come at four o'clock, but the hour hand showed five and still Lumumba did not appear. The newsmen became nervous and grumbled, and one of them, I do not remember who he represented but he was undoubtedly a racist, declared:

"We can't let a Negro, even if he is a Prime Minister, keep us waiting so long."

There are scoundrels among newspapermen as well.

There were about thirty people, and gradually all of them followed the racist out of the room. Only an East Berlin correspondent and I stayed behind. Lumumba, who had been informed of everything by his secretary, appeared a few minutes later. I could see he was angry. But he

quickly gained control over himself and, courteously asking us to take a seat, said:

"It's idiotic. Any racialism, white or black, is simply idiotic. I know," he said, turning to me, "that you are a Communist. But that's not the point. You are a cultured person like your comrade here. Tell me, what can I do for you?"

That was when I got my interview.

I got my second close look at Lumumba at the aerodrome in Leopoldville. I was at my hotel when somebody from the office of the Council of Ministers telephoned and told me to drive to the aerodrome. I got there at the same time as Lumumba. With him were General Lundula, Minister for Youth Affairs and Sports Mpolo, and two soldiers. He got out of his car, went to the hangar alone, opened the door and shouted:

"In the name of the Congolese Government you are arrested."

In the hangar were about sixty Belgian paratroopers. They were armed to the teeth and were guarded by U.N. Swedish troops. It was a unique situation. It is quite unusual for a Prime Minister personally to arrest people. And if an unarmed man with only a few companions sets out to arrest armed paratroopers he must be brave as a lion. Lumumba had that courage. It was a sober, conscious courage, a courage that is ruled by common sense and gives birth to true heroism.

There was nothing the Belgians could do. Ten minutes later the stunned paratroopers climbed into a lorry that was waiting for them.

Five minutes after they were gone Lumumba laughed over the episode and said:

"If we had decided to wait until this was done by the U.N. Secretary-General, we would have found the paratroopers under our beds."

Although Lumumba called upon his people to have full trust in the U.N. because he wanted to avoid bloodshed,

he was perfectly well aware that Hammarskjöld's behaviour was the principal reason for the disorders. Now he was looking for a solution that would not infringe upon the Congo's territorial integrity or restrict its economic and political independence. The solution lay in appealing to the people, in mobilising them and drawing them into direct participation in the Congo's struggle against old and new colonialism.

The Congolese were his people. It seems to me that I never saw Lumumba so happy and confident as when he toured Orientale Province and visited Stanleyville. It was there during the rule of the Belgians Lumumba had struggled, suffered and worked to create the first modern Congolese party that would stand above tribal discord and be linked up with the African national movement. It was there day after day for five years he had trained personnel, established branches of his party in every village and united the entire province around his programme.

* * *

The huge, jubilant crowd of politically mature people that welcomed him on his arrival was different from the crowds in other parts of the Congo. It was a triumph. One could feel that Lumumba had merged with his people. I remember his old father. His face bore the marks of poverty and he had the coarse hands of a man who had hunted for food with bow and arrow. Now these hands embraced the son, who was carried aloft by young people chanting: "Uhuru—Freedom!"

On the next day we were in the bush. Women, old men and children poured out of every village to the river bank to celebrate, honour and speak with Lumumba, their "son, the son of the earth, their brother in grief and hope". A long Moslem gown, symbol of authority, was put on him. He laughed, shaking hands with everybody, and in each

village he spoke, sang and danced with his people, inviting us to join in the dancing.

That evening he made one of the most important speeches of his short career. Starting a very interesting conversation with the people at the stadium in Stanleyville (the peasants asked questions and he replied, and then he asked them for advice and they gave it), Lumumba spoke of the profound transformations that were needed to place the Congo's enormous wealth into the hands of the people, of the new state system under which tribes had to disappear, of popular initiative and the liberation of Katanga, of the future united and peace-loving Africa. He spoke in Lingala and then translated his words into French for our benefit, for the three or four European newsmen accompanying him.

Other Europeans suddenly appeared in the stadium. They were Belgians who had refused to leave the Congo and wanted to co-operate with Lumumba's Government. With a happy smile, he called them to the rostrum, introduced them to the people as brothers and, addressing us, said:

"Tell the whole world about this. We are not opposed to white people. We do not mean harm to anybody. People of every colour must be friends. That is our goal."

In the evening we had dinner with him at the residence of the provincial governor. There was nervousness, tension in the air. I was told that important news was expected from Katanga. An hour later we heard a car drive up, and Lumumba started. He rose, ran to the door and cried:

"They've come!"

They were several Baluba who had arrived from Katanga. In order to slip through the Belgian guards, they had made the journey in an ambulance. Throughout the week's journey they had had only one hour of fresh air at night and several bananas as their entire ration. In rags, hungry, and seeming to fall asleep as they walked, they looked like phantoms. I hurried over to them. The Baluba chief,

who was fighting Tshombe, shouted when he saw me with a notebook in my hand:

"We haven't come here for a press conference. Lumumba, we've come for fighting men."

Lumumba embraced each one of them in turn, questioned them and solicitously looked to their needs with a tenderness I never suspected him capable of. And yet such was Lumumba. On the following morning our cars came across a large group of ragged soldiers, with whom were women and children. Lumumba stopped his car and wanted to know who they were. They proved to be Congolese soldiers, who had been transferred to Ruanda-Urundi and had refused to serve the Belgians. The Belgians had requisitioned all their property and told them they could walk back to the Congo. It was the first time I saw tears in Lumumba's eyes. He took all the money he had on him, emptied the pockets of his Ministers and gave it all to these people. At the same time, in spite of the financial crisis in the Congo and the shortage of funds, he ordered these people to be given housing and 50,000 francs for immediate needs, and enlisted in the Congolese National Army.

Such was Lumumba. He shared all he had with his people. When he became Prime Minister he did not draw a salary, ate very frugally and in no way took advantage of his high position. Many of the Ministers, of course, did not act in the same way. There were Ministers who spent money right and left (they had never had money before), and frequented luxury cabarets and bars, learning of their existence for the first time. They enjoyed all the blessings of authority, and all of them were on the other side of the fence, with the Belgians, with the colonialists.

I saw how Lumumba lived with my own eyes. One day I went to see a doctor at an out-patient clinic and there met his wife, small Patrice and his driver Maurice, a devoted and intelligent young man. Maurice told me that Lumumba was looking for me. He had been given an Italian magazine

rifle and wanted to show it to me. I went to his home and, as usual, found him immersed in a multitude of affairs. He invited me into his flat. It consisted of a tiny room with three beds for the children, another room with a bed, wardrobe and chest of drawers for himself and his wife, a small and very simply furnished dining-room and a kitchen. They had no servants. His wife, a small, pregnant woman, did the cooking for the family and also for Maurice and Lumumba's brother Louis. They were expecting another child and were thinking of getting another flat. This was Lumumba's only plan for his family.

* * *

Later I saw Lumumba at the All-African Conference in Leopoldville, where he made one of his most magnificent speeches. In it he gave full voice to his nationalist convictions, his all-absorbing love for the Congo and his ideal of a united Africa. One of the phrases sat deep in my mind. I should say it revealed most fully what he felt and wished. He said:

"We were offered a choice between liberation and the continuation of bondage. There can be no compromise between freedom and slavery. We chose to pay the price of freedom."

The last time I saw him was before my departure from the Congo. It was a Saturday. I went to say good-bye to him and thank him for his assistance. I doubt if he ever knew my name. To him I was simply an Italian journalist, a correspondent of one of the few European newspapers that watched the struggle of the Congolese people with sympathy and understanding.

I found him, as usual, at work. The situation was not very good, but at least it was calm. No one expected a coup d'état (it took place on Monday). At the time Lumumba was working on two or three decisive problems: the liberation of Katanga, relations with the U.N., and aid

from abroad in order to allow the Congo to hold out. Famine was knocking on the door. Lumumba took a few minutes off for a talk with me. He spoke optimistically of the future. He had profound faith in people. I wished him every success and a long life. Once more he told me that his life was of no importance whatever but that he was firmly convinced that no Congolese would ever raise his hand against him.

"We are all blood brothers."

His last words to me were:

"You will probably come back to the Congo and we'll meet again. You will find a free, rich and flourishing country with no survivals of slavery."

That is what he wanted most of all, and for that he was murdered.

LAST DAYS OF FREEDOM

By Lev VOLODIN, Soviet journalist

The rain poured all that evening, and from our verandah we gazed at the turbid curtain of water that hid the silent city from view. Our host was 25-year-old Jacques N. With the quick gestures of a youth and the firm gaze of a man who had seen much in his life, he spoke in an emotion-filled voice of the days when Patrice Lumumba struggled against the men who accomplished the September coup d'état. Jacques had been one of Lumumba's associates and had worked with him.

He told me how Lumumba's departure from his closely guarded residence was planned and carried out in November 1960. Jacques had helped in that daring escape and remembered everything down to the last detail. All I had to do was to write down what he said, to keep pace with his rapid flow of words. Here is his story:

It was a rainy evening. We were in Leopoldville, where we were surrounded by enemies. Lumumba had spent two

months behind a double ring of troops. It was impossible to see him, but we spoke to him from time to time, using the telephone in a U.N. guardhouse.

On the first day of his imprisonment Lumumba ordered us to be prepared to leave Leopoldville so as to continue an open fight against the rebels from some other place. Many political leaders, Ministers and M.P.s prepared to leave the city. According to Lumumba's plan the whole operation was to take one or two days and we were to go at different times and use different routes.

November 27, 1960, was the day set for our departure. All that day we waited for a telephone call from Lumumba. The telephone rang at six in the evening when an autumn tropical shower was pouring down from the sky.

"I am ready," Lumumba said. "Drive to the house and wait there."

Victor B. and I put two old rifles in our car and sped to Lumumba's house in the driving rain. Troops were patrolling the entrance. Most of them were hiding from the rain under a tree. We took in the entire scene at a glance. Our plan was simple: if the troops noticed Lumumba in the car we would fire at them to cover his escape.

The gates swung open and a big black Chevrolet appeared. The driver, Maurice, stopped the car and, replying to a query from the soldiers, said:

"I'm taking the servants home. It will soon be night."

In the rain and darkness the sergeant could not see who was in the car.

"Open the door, we'll check," he ordered the driver.

We released the safety catches on our rifles. The guards had only one rifle. The others were stacked beneath an awning. But at that moment we heard Lumumba cry:

"Maurice, step on the gas!"

The powerful car sprang forward, the soldiers shouted and ran for their rifles. But it was too late. The car took several turnings at full speed and Lumumba was soon on the highway.

Another car was waiting for us at the aerodrome. From there we began our journey to Stanleyville.

That evening we drove for more than two hundred kilometres along a muddy and bumpy road. We were stopped by the Kwilu River, where we had a small incident. The ferrymen flatly refused to take us across. We were surprised and asked them for the reason.

"It's the rule. We are not allowed to ferry Congolese after 10 p.m."

Lumumba went to the ferrymen.

"Don't you know that there are new orders now, that the power in the land belongs to us? The Belgians no longer rule the Congo."

"That's true. But we've had no new instructions. That is why we are keeping the old rules."

One of the ferrymen raised his lantern and suddenly shouted in wild excitement:

"It's Lumumba!"

There and then, on a piece of paper, Lumumba wrote instructions allowing Congolese to be ferried across the river at any time. When we were on the far bank, he said sadly:

"What a terrible heritage! They don't even realise that they can decide something themselves, that they are free. It will be difficult to work, but we will surmount everything and give the people knowledge. That is the main thing. It will be easier after that."

We drove all night and then, without resting, all day. Our plan to travel in secrecy failed. The people recognised Lumumba and warmly greeted him wherever our cars appeared. The news, relayed by "bamboo telegraph", that the Prime Minister was coming in person travelled from village to village faster than our cars. At Masi-Manimba, an administrative centre, the population showered Lumumba's car with flowers. Crowds of people barred our way. They brought us chicken, eggs and bananas to show that they were kindly disposed towards us. In many villages the people came out with weapons, thinking that Lumumba

was mustering volunteers against the rebels. In Mangaya, at a rally that was held spontaneously, Lumumba said:

"Brothers, put away your weapons. But look after them, for you will need them. We shall have to fight for freedom. The colonialists don't want to give it to us peacefully, so we'll win it fighting them."

During a short halt, after we had crossed the Brabanta River, Lumumba talked to us round a fire. He spoke of the future unification of our forces, of a new army, of the need to rely on the people.

"You see, the people support the Government because our programme is clear: complete independence, the Congo for the Congolese. Fourteen million Congolese want work, a better future for their children. They want to be citizens with full political rights, they want a new life. The rebels are thinking of something totally different. At this moment they are calculating how much they'll get for their treachery. But the struggle hasn't ended. We shall gather new forces. I believe in my people."

I vividly remember this talk round the campfire. Lumumba's lucid thoughts cut deep into my memory. He said to me:

"You, Jacques, have contact with young people. That's from whom we get most of our support. Young people are eager for a new life and this is a turning point for them. Either they'll get everything they want or they'll have to return to their back-breaking work in foreign-owned plantations, factories and mines. We must make them the masters of the country. Extensive organisational work is required. The young people have to be freed from tribal survivals and united round the idea of national unity, the rejuvenation of their country."

For me these words were the behest of a teacher. We never had another opportunity for a serious talk. We drove on and on, trying to get to Orientale Province as quickly as we could. There the people were waiting for Lumumba and he would be out of his pursuers' reach. At the Brabanta

River we were joined by a group of Ministers and M.P.s. Now we were a big party and secrecy was out of the question. We knew that our pursuers were somewhere near.

At daybreak on November 30 we reached Port Francqui, where the administrator gave a luncheon in honour of the Prime Minister. People milled around the house, showing their friendliness. Suddenly a lorry full of troops drove up at full speed. They were rebels.

Although they were inclined to be bellicose, the presence of a large crowd made them hesitate to do anything. The sergeant in charge of the troops had a talk with Lumumba and demanded that he follow them. I do not know what was said because at the time I ran to a nearby U.N. post. The officer, an Englishman, listened to me coldly.

"We do not interfere in Congolese affairs," was his reply.

But the troops under him, all of whom were Africans, acted differently. Paying no attention to their officer, they quickly got their guns and ran to the administrator's house. That decided the issue. The rebels departed. The U.N. troops, riding in a lorry, accompanied us for about fifty kilometres and then waved us on.

We drove to the small town of Mweka. The commissioner met us on the road. Preparations for a rally were under way in the town. The people wanted to hear the Prime Minister. Lumumba hesitated. The danger had not passed, and the pursuit could be renewed. The Ministers insisted that he drive on. Out of the window of the car he looked thoughtfully at the square where several thousand people had already assembled.

"But what about them?" he said to us. "They're waiting to see me. I must say at least a few words to them."

The rally was held, and when it was ending we again saw our pursuers. This time the troops were driving in cars which the Belgians in Port Francqui had given them. We took a lightning decision. I jumped into Lumumba's

black Chevrolet and sped along the highway to draw the attention of the troops. They gave chase, and in the meantime Lumumba and his companions went in a different direction, taking a roundabout route to the Sankuru River.

The Chevrolet was too fast for the troops. They halted somewhere along the highway, evidently giving up the chase, and turned back. At the entrance to Mweka they were awaited by a Belgian railway employee. He showed them where Lumumba went.

Lumumba and his companions were already far away. Towards seven in the evening they got to the tiny village of Lodi, where there was a ferry across the Sankuru. But the ferry boat was nowhere to be found. Lumumba decided to abandon the cars and cross the river in a canoe.

"We'll find other cars there, and if the worst comes to the worst we'll walk," he said to his companions.

There was only one canoe, and Lumumba and three companions crossed to the far bank first. Lumumba's wife and the rest of his party waited for the ferry boat. When the Prime Minister was already on the opposite bank, the pursuers suddenly appeared. The troops seized the entire party and shouted to Lumumba to return.

Without suspecting anything Lumumba got the ferrymen to cross the river and collect the people there. When the boat emerged from the darkness it was seized by troops, who crossed the river and surrounded Lumumba.

"Chief," the man in charge said, "we didn't want to cause you any harm. But they'll kill us if we return without you. You must understand it."

With a sad look at the soldiers Lumumba said:

"There's nothing to say. I know that to save yourselves you would murder Pauline and Roland. You can kill me. But remember—you'll never be forgiven. And you'll be sorry for the deed you're doing today."

Lumumba was sent to Mweka. I was there and saw a lorry with troops stop at the U.N. post on the town's outskirts at six in the morning. Lumumba, his hands tied be-

hind his back, was standing in the lorry, and beside him were his wife, son, a Minister and several M.P.s. I ran to the British lieutenant.

"It's Lumumba, save him."

Lumumba himself said loudly and clearly from the lorry: "Lieutenant, I am the Prime Minister. I request United Nations protection."

The lieutenant looked indifferently at him, crushed his cigarette and went into the house without replying. The rebel soldiers, who had watchfully waited for the results of Lumumba's appeal, seized Lumumba, dragged him out of the lorry and pushed him into a small red Opel that had come from Port Francqui.

I ran to the U.N. African troops. They raised the alarm and gave chase, but the red Opel was evidently too far away. . . .

Whenever people now say that the U.N. could do nothing to prevent Lumumba's arrest, that its representatives did their utmost to stop his illegal detention, I remember that U.N. lieutenant, his haughty, indifferent face and the boot slowly crushing a smoking cigarette. . . .

PATRICE LUMUMBA'S SECOND LIFE

By Tomas KOLESNICHENKO, Soviet Journalist

This man has two lives. The first was cut short by the colonialists. The second will last eternally.

Patrice Emery Lumumba, a young African with attentive, radiant eyes, has for ever taken his place in the ranks of heroic fighters who sacrificed their lives for human happiness. In the Congo we clearly saw this second life of the country's first Prime Minister, who chose torture and death rather than submit.

He has remained eternally young, fighting and unconquerable.

Time has not yet stilled the pain. It seems only recently that he lived, laughed and frowned. "He made a speech at this very aerodrome," we were told by Albert Busheri, commissioner of Paulice in Orientale Province, whom we met in the spring of 1961. "The heat was unbearable, but the people stood absolutely still while Patrice spoke."

"What did he say?"

"I don't remember the words, but I can still hear his wrathful voice accusing the Belgian colonialists of crimes, of the infinite suffering they caused our country. Then a note of excitement crept in when he spoke of what our country would be like when it became independent. As I listened to him, I pictured a new Congo to myself, a Congo with factories, new houses, schools, hospitals, and new people—doctors and engineers—not Belgians but Congolese. There's nothing of that now."

A sad look appeared on Busheri's face. After a moment's silence he went on:

"We have a fine hospital here in Paulice, but it's not operating. There's not a single doctor in the town. But in spite of everything this country will be what Lumumba wanted it to be. You'll see. . . ."

One evening we learned that in Paulice there was a man who was called Lumumba's teacher.

It was already night when we knocked on the door of a small house on the outskirts of the town.

. . . Paul Kimbala was an elderly man. Our guides respectfully called him "father". He rose heavily to his feet, went to another room and came back with a tattered book. On it its owner had written in his own hand: "Patrice Lumumba". We carefully turned over the yellowed pages. A volume of lectures on logic, it had belonged to Lumumba. "I'm going to turn it over to a museum. We'll have Lumumba museums one day, and towns will be named after him," Kimbala said.

"Like Lumumba, I am a Batetela. We come from the same village. I knew his father well. His father was a

Catholic and Patrice went to a Protestant school. Mission schools were the only places in the Congo where one could get an education. But he did not stay in that school long. Religion did not interest him and he was expelled. Later he came to live with me in Stanleyville. He worked and continued with his studies. He was an amazing youth. There was a library near our house and he used to spend every free moment in it. Every evening, I remember, he used to come home with a large heap of paper, which was covered with writing. 'They're extracts, father,' he said to me. 'They'll be useful to me.' I don't remember seeing him resting or simply making merry. Even when others would be singing and dancing or feasting, I would always see him with a book. Patrice was very persevering.

"Then he went to Leopoldville, where he studied in a Post Office school for six months. After he finished the school he wrote to me asking whether he should stay on in Leopoldville or return to Stanleyville. I advised him to return. He came back to Stanleyville and worked as the manager of a small Post Office branch 80 kilometres away from the town. All that time he regarded my home as his own. He married Pauline Opanga in my house. How happy he was at his wedding.

"In 1954 I moved to Paulice, leaving my house to Lumumba. I did not see him again until 1960."

Kimballa grew thoughtful. The flame flickered in the kerosene lamp on the small table. We sat with bated breath and the prolonged shrill notes of the cicadas were all that disturbed the silence of the Congolese night.

"The last time I saw Patrice," Kimballa said, resuming his story, "was in the summer of 1960, when he was the Prime Minister of the country. I visited him in Leopoldville. There were many people around him and it was impossible to get close to him. But I stood in the house and waited. Suddenly he saw me and came striding over to me. 'You came, father,' he said to me in our native Batetela. I had no money and asked him to help me. With an embar-



Patrice Lumumba's last photograph with his three children—François, Patrice and Juliana—before they were sent to Cairo

passed smile he said; 'I don't have any money either, but we'll soon fix that.' He turned to the people around him and said: 'Who can give me some money?' Scores of hands were stretched out to him. It was our last meeting. I never saw him again.

"Patrice was my pupil and I'm proud of him. I watched him begin his struggle. It was when he was working in a Post Office near Stanleyville. He and his friends frequently gathered in my house."

...In Stanleyville we did not have to look long for Patrice Lumumba's house. Everybody knew it, and people from all over the Congo came specially to see it. There were many people near the house when we arrived. They carried portraits of Lumumba and stood in silence. And on a green lawn, in front of the verandah where Pauline Lumumba and her younger son Roland were sitting, a group of peasants dressed in ancient national costumes were performing funeral dances to the beat of a tom-tom. The dancers swayed slowly in time to the rhythm. The tiny bells sewn on their costumes jingled, forming a contrast to the hollow sounds of the tom-tom.

The rhythm grew faster and soon the group was performing a war dance. The grief and hopeless despair in the beat of the tom-tom gave way to a call for vengeance. ...

Lumumba's family has a heavy burden of sorrow, but they are not alone. The people of the Congo remember their national hero.

Darkness descends swiftly on the equator. When we left Lumumba's house, the lilac sky was covered with a black, star-spangled blanket. People were still standing near the house, and it seemed that the tall, thin man with the proud name of Patrice Emery Lumumba, who is living on, would appear at any moment.

HOW THE CRIME WAS PERPETRATED

MATERIALS OF THE U.N. COMMISSION ESTABLISHED TO INVESTIGATE THE MURDER OF PATRICE LUMUMBA AND HIS ASSOCIATES

The whole world was shaken by the news of the dastardly murder of the leader of the Congolese national-liberation movement and Prime Minister of the Republic of the Congo Patrice Lumumba and his associates Joseph Okito and Maurice Mpolo. Wrath ran high in February 1961. Turbulent demonstrations protesting against the bloody crime of the colonialists took place in all countries. The crime in Katanga was sternly condemned by many prominent statesmen and public figures. Wrathful words of condemnation and protest sounded at sittings of the United Nations General Assembly.

Under pressure of world public opinion, the Security Council at its 942nd sitting on February 20-21, 1961, passed a decision to conduct "an immediate and impartial investigation ... in order to ascertain the circumstances of the death of Mr. Lumumba and his colleagues" and declared "that the persons guilty of these crimes would be punished".

A Commission of Investigation was set up in fulfilment of this decision. It began its work on May 11, 1961, and

its report, registered in the General Assembly as No. A-4964 and in the Security Council as No. 9-4976, was presented on November 11, 1961.

In the course of six months the Commission carried out extensive investigations, collecting many eyewitness reports and documents revealing the true picture of how the murder of Patrice Lumumba and his associates was prepared and carried out. Its report is an indictment, which, in the language of impartial documents, statements of witnesses and an analysis of the situation and events, points to who killed Lumumba and who helped to perpetrate this crime.

But while recognising the importance of the work done by the U.N. Commission, which was undoubtedly conscientious and impartial, and the value of its report, one cannot overlook the fact that this work was hindered whenever and wherever possible. As is noted by the Commission itself, the governments of Belgium and Britain refused to help it find the necessary witnesses. It was not permitted to go to Leopoldville or to Katanga. Tshombe, who was in Geneva, flatly refused to testify before it.

This was nothing but a deliberate move to prevent an investigation of the crime in Katanga. It is further proof that some people in the West are trying to cover up Lumumba's murderers, to hide from the world the true picture of the crime.

But the attempts of the imperialist, colonialist forces to protect the murderers from punishment will collapse. Justice will triumph. Even the materials presented by the U.N. Commission are enough to commit the murderers for trial.

Below, due to lack of space, we give the report of the U.N. Commission in abridged form.

* * *

REPORT OF THE COMMISSION OF INVESTIGATION ESTABLISHED UNDER THE TERMS OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION NO. 1601 (XV)

I. REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE COMMISSION

1. The decision to conduct "an immediate and impartial investigation ... in order to ascertain the circumstances of the death of Mr. Lumumba and his colleagues" was taken by the Security Council in a resolution of February 20-21, 1961. ...

3. The General Assembly, taking into consideration ... the views thus expressed by the Advisory Committee on the Congo, established the Commission by Resolution No. 1601 (XV) of April 15, 1961.

4. The governments of Burma, Ethiopia, Mexico and Togo nominated as members of the Commission Mr. Justice Aung Khine, Ato Tashoma Hailemariam, Dr. Salvador Martínez de Alva, and Maître Ayité d'Almeida respectively. Mr. George Ofosu-Amaah served as Secretary of the Commission.

5. The Commission met for the first time in New York on May 11, 1961. After sixteen meetings it left for Europe on June 17. In London it held one meeting before travelling to Geneva on June 21. From Geneva the Commission went to Brussels on June 25. Since June 28, the Commission has been in Geneva. There have been 66 meetings, of which 16 were devoted to the hearing of witnesses—four in New York, two in Brussels and 10 in Geneva.

6. The terms of reference of the Commission are defined by the Security Council resolution of February 20-21. It is to hold "an immediate and impartial investigation in order to ascertain the circumstances of the death of Mr. Lumumba and his colleagues". The Advisory Committee

on the Congo recommended that in particular "the Commission will endeavour to ascertain the events and circumstances relating to and culminating in the death of Mr. Lumumba and his colleagues and to fix responsibility thereof". ...

Sources of Information

8. The initial information for the Commission's work has been documentary materials furnished by the Secretary-General. These have been in the form of General Assembly and Security Council documents issued before and after the death of Mr. Lumumba, cables received from the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in the Congo and extracts from various newspapers covering the relevant events in the Congo. ...

11. The other sources of information have been the statements of witnesses made during the hearings of the Commission. These witnesses were invited through the Secretary-General or the Belgian Government and in three cases directly by the Commission. Witnesses invited through the Secretary-General have been ONUC officials who have been in various parts of the Congo during periods relevant to the Commission's work.

12. At various stages of the Commission's work it was learned that certain persons then in Belgium might be able to give valuable information relating to the events in the Congo. Requests were made to the Belgian Government to assist the Commission in making the arrangements for the interrogation of 15 persons. Up till now it has been possible to hear only three such persons, one in Belgium and the others in Geneva. With respect to the remainder the Commission was informed that the prospective witnesses could not be reached either because they were on holiday or their addresses were not known. Among those who could be contacted through the Belgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, some refused outright to appear before the Com-

mission and others did not even reply to the Commission's requests.

13. In addition, it was alleged that a report on the events relating to the death of Mr. Lumumba had been sent to Brussels by certain officials of the *Sûreté katangaise* at the beginning of February 1961. An urgent request was directed to the Belgian Government to make a certified copy of this report available to the Commission. The Belgian Government denied knowledge of any such report and although the Commission has been informed that a search for it has been ordered, it has not received a definite reply....

15. From the very outset of its work, the Commission became convinced that for the full, effective and proper execution of its task it should visit the Republic of the Congo. For it was evident that whatever materials and evidence were received must be verified there. It had hoped that if and when it proceeded to the scene of the events it would receive the fullest co-operation and assistance of the Government.

(Further, the Commission gives its correspondence with President Kasavubu and Foreign Minister Bomboko regarding its intention to go to Leopoldville. As everybody knows, the Commission never went to the Congo.)

30. The Commission learned of the presence of Mr. Tshombe in Geneva while drafting its report. A letter was sent to him inviting him to appear before the Commission. Although this letter was delivered to him personally, Mr. Tshombe did not acknowledge its receipt. Consequently, the Commission assumes that he did not wish to co-operate with it.

31. With the submission of this report, the Commission has adjourned pending a decision of the General Assembly as to its future work.

II. REPORT OF THE EVENTS LEADING TO THE DEATH OF MR. LUMUMBA, MR. OKITO AND MR. MPOLO

**The Political Situation in the Congo
When Mr. Lumumba, the Prime Minister
of the First Government of the Congo,
Mr. Okito, Vice-President of the Senate,
and Mr. Mpolo, the Minister of Youth,
Were Arrested.**

The Constitutional Crisis of September and Its Consequences

32. When Mr. Lumumba, Mr. Okito and Mr. Mpolo were arrested, the constitutional crisis had already been in progress for nearly three months.

33. That crisis broke out on the evening of September 5, 1960, when the Head of State, Mr. Kasavubu, announced in a broadcast that the Prime Minister, Mr. Patrice Lumumba, had failed in his duties and, invoking article 22 of the Fundamental Law, dismissed the Government with immediate effect and entrusted Mr. Joseph Ileo, President of the Senate, with the formation of a new Government. A little later the Government's dismissal was confirmed by an ordinance signed by the Head of State and countersigned by two Ministers, Mr. Justin Bomboko and Mr. Albert Delvaux.

34. A week of great confusion followed the President's proclamation. Mr. Lumumba violently opposed this proclamation and, during the night of September 5, called a meeting of the Council of Ministers, which decided to depose the Head of State on the ground that he had violated the Fundamental Law in dismissing the Prime Minister. On September 7, the Chamber of Deputies decided by 60 votes to 19 to annul the decisions whereby the Head of State and the Prime Minister had dismissed each other and to set up a parliamentary committee to reconcile the

two adversaries. On the following day the Senate also held a meeting and pronounced against the President's proclamation by 41 votes to 2, with 6 abstentions and 29 members absent. On September 9, President Kasavubu published a communiqué setting aside the votes of the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate on the ground that his decisions did not require parliamentary approval. On September 10, the Prime Minister designate, Mr. Ileo, announced the formation of his Government, which was confirmed two days later by an ordinance of the Head of State. On September 13, the Chamber and the Senate at a joint meeting gave Mr. Lumumba full powers by 88 votes to 5, with 3 abstentions. On the following day, the Head of State prorogued Parliament, but the President of the Chamber of Deputies and the Vice-President of the Senate refused to recognise this decision.

35. On the evening of September 14, Colonel Joseph Mobutu, Chief of Staff of the Congolese National Army, announced that the army was assuming control until December 31, 1960, that the existing central political organs were suspended and that the government of the country would be carried on by a college of young university men.

36. On September 20, Colonel Mobutu announced the establishment of the College of Commissioners-General, and on the same day the Head of State issued an ordinance to that effect. On October 11, President Kasavubu signed a "constitutional legislative decree" proroguing Parliament and transferring the legislative and executive powers ordinarily exercised by Parliament and the Government to the College of Commissioners-General.

37. The College of Commissioners managed the affairs of the country until February 9, 1961, on which date the Head of State, by decree, removed them from office and replaced them by a "Provisional Government" under Mr. Ileo.

Protection Given by the United Nations Authorities to Mr. Lumumba and Other Politicians

38. On September 12, the day on which the Head of State published an ordinance announcing the composition of the Ileo Government, Mr. Lumumba was arrested by the gendarmerie on the order of Colonel Mobutu, Chief of Staff of the Army, but he was released by the Army Command in circumstances which remain obscure. A Parliamentary Committee, which was attempting to bring about a reconciliation between the Head of State and the Prime Minister, protested against this action and pointed out that as the Ileo Government had not yet received a vote of confidence from Parliament it could not take the place of the legal Government.

39. On September 15, the day after Colonel Mobutu had announced that the army had assumed control, Mr. Lumumba took refuge in the Ghanaian officers' mess in the army's main camp at Leopoldville. Throughout the day, his life was in great danger, while harassed Ghanaian troops kept at bay mutinous soldiers of the hostile Baluba tribe, who claimed that their families had been victims of the civil war in Kasai. After the Secretary-General's Special Representative had personally intervened on the spot, the national gendarmerie and the Ghanaian troops were able to escort Mr. Lumumba out of the camp at nightfall.

40. It should be noted that on the afternoon of that same day, the Head of State and Mr. Ileo, whom he had designated as Prime Minister, asked ONUC to arrest Mr. Lumumba but that the Secretary-General's Special Representative firmly refused to accede to this request, pointing out that such a step was totally outside ONUC's powers.

41. It would appear that on that day (September 15) Mr. Lumumba, feeling that he was in danger, asked for the protection of the United Nations forces, and that this protection having been granted, he enjoyed it until November

27, 1960, the day on which he left his house probably in the hope of reaching Stanleyville.

42. On the matter of the protection given to Mr. Lumumba by the United Nations, after having studied the documents on the subject put at its disposal by the Secretary-General, and in particular document S/4571 of December 5, 1960, the Commission heard the evidence of two senior officials of the United Nations, Mr. Dayal, Special Representative of the Secretary-General in the Congo, and General Rikhye, who replaced Mr. Dayal during his absence from November 3 to 25, 1960. In a spirit of impartiality and strict objectivity, the Commission wishes to reproduce verbatim in this section of its report the descriptions which these two witnesses gave on the nature of the protection afforded to Mr. Lumumba.

Mr. Dayal said:

"He was not a prisoner of the United Nations. We were there to prevent people from getting in to him in order to do him harm. So a mixed guard was placed around his house, consisting of representatives from various units under the United Nations. There was another guard put around the United Nations guard by the Congolese Army, whose function apparently was to prevent him from getting out. Mr. Lumumba was perfectly free to leave if he wanted to—but the Congolese guard was there to prevent him from doing so. Our guard was to prevent unauthorised persons from coming in."

General Rikhye said:

"Mr. Lumumba had been under the protection of the United Nations practically since the United Nations operation had started in the Congo, more so since he had been dismissed by President Kasavubu. This protection granted to him was at his residence alone. Mr. Lu-

mumba was fully aware that this protection did not extend beyond his house; it was on precincts.

"In the earlier days the Congolese National Army had not taken any action against Mr. Lumumba, so the only guard around Mr. Lumumba's residence was that of the United Nations. He was in the habit of going out in his motorcar for fresh air, for shopping or to visit friends. He was a frequent visitor of the various restaurants, where his party supporters were; he would join them very often, make speeches and then he would return to his residence.

"As I said earlier, it had been explained to Mr. Lumumba that it was not possible for the United Nations to provide him this protection on these tours, and in fact he never even asked for such protection as it would obviously not be very good for him politically to go around with a United Nations guard in an area which he claimed to be his own, which was of his own supporters."

43. The Commission considers this evidence reliable and notes, moreover, that it was not contradicted by any other of the witnesses it subsequently examined under the same conditions and with the same freedom.

44. While Mr. Lumumba was being protected by the United Nations, a number of incidents took place which should be briefly described. On October 10, representatives of the Congolese National Army came to ONUC Headquarters with a warrant for the arrest of "Patrice Lumumba, Deputy". The warrant reproduced the text of an article of the Penal Code which makes it a penal offence to incite the population to rise against the established authority. The representatives of the Congolese National Army demanded that the United Nations guard (which had for some time been stationed at Mr. Lumumba's residence, as well as at those of President Kasavubu, Colonel Mobutu, the Chief of Staff, and others) should be

ordered to facilitate his arrest. The attitude of the United Nations was that "in view of its neutrality it would not change the permanent orders given to any of its guards in order to facilitate the execution of a warrant which, at first sight, was not valid". Indeed, the United Nations considered that the Congolese National Army's action was manifestly irregular, since no attempt had been made to observe the provisions of the Fundamental Law laying down a specific parliamentary procedure for authorising the arrest of a Deputy, which was designed to protect the state and not individuals. ONUC also explained to the Chief of the General Staff that "such direct action against a leading personality would be difficult to reconcile with the declared object of his regime, which was to unite all political factions in order to negotiate a national settlement".

45. Further, on October 11, after the attempt of the troops of the CNA to arrest Mr. Lumumba had failed, his residence was surrounded by varying numbers of Congolese soldiers, who kept a strict watch on people going in or out. The United Nations often had to make representations on humanitarian grounds to allow normal life to go on in Mr. Lumumba's residence.

46. Finally, in the middle of November, many reports having reached ONUC Headquarters to the effect that the College of Commissioners-General would probably make further efforts to arrest Mr. Lumumba, the U.N. guard at his residence was reinforced.

MR. LUMUMBA'S DEPARTURE FROM HIS RESIDENCE AND HIS ARREST AT MWEKA

1. Departure of Mr. Lumumba

47. The reasons for Mr. Lumumba's departure from his residence were explained to the Commission by a close friend of his, who appeared before it in New York. Ac-

cording to this witness, he was the last person to speak by telephone to Mr. Lumumba before the latter left his residence. He stated that Mr. Lumumba had been anxious about the burial of his son, who had died in Geneva and whose body had been brought to Leopoldville. Difficulties had arisen in Leopoldville about the performance of proper burial rites and Mr. Lumumba had therefore decided to have his son's body taken to Stanleyville. As the body had already been flown there, the witness and a few other friends of Mr. Lumumba had arranged for him to follow by road to Stanleyville. In accordance with these arrangements, Mr. Lumumba had left his residence about 10 o'clock one night towards the end of November. The exact date, November 27, 1960, was given to the Commission by General Rikhye.

48. General Rikhye explained that after rumours had circulated to the effect that Mr. Lumumba had disappeared, President Kasavubu and the College of Commissioners accused the ONUC force of having "assisted Lumumba's escape and of having been accomplices in it". Therefore he had to order a thorough inquiry into the circumstances in which Mr. Lumumba had left his residence. The witness continued: "The facts as far as I can remember them were as follows: after the return of President Kasavubu from New York, he held a banquet at the presidential palace in Leopoldville on the night of November 27-28. We were all present at the banquet. It rained very heavily most of the night. During the very heavy rainfall, the Moroccan guard—there was a United Nations Moroccan guard at his gate—saw a large black car driven up towards them. They stopped the car. They recognised the car and no suspicion was raised as they had seen that car go in and go out a number of times with the same driver. It was not Mr. Lumumba's personal car, but it was a car which frequently came into the residence and left with various other passengers; so they let the car in, and after a short while the car left with three passengers—all men."

The witness added that the ONUC guard only controlled the entry of people to the residence to "make sure that they were not carrying weapons, knives, daggers, bombs or anything of that kind and thus prevent any personal danger to Mr. Lumumba". He said "we never checked anybody who went out and, as I have reported earlier, even if Mr. Lumumba had been recognised leaving his residence, he would not have been stopped because he was free to leave his house as and when he wished. He had gone out of the house on a number of occasions, as I have already explained". In concluding that part of his evidence, the witness stated that as rumours about Mr. Lumumba's departure were becoming rife, he had ordered in the course of the day a complete search of the house in order to find out whether Mr. Lumumba was there or not. That search, he emphasised, established the fact that Mr. Lumumba had left his residence. He, the witness, had then informed United Nations Headquarters in New York of the news.

49. Continuing his statement, the witness told the Commission that many representatives of the College of Commissioners subsequently came to ask ONUC to help them to find Mr. Lumumba. Mr. Dayal, Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Leopoldville, had "issued very clear orders to the United Nations military command. These were the words: 'that ONUC will not under any circumstances provide intelligence or assistance to the pursuer or the pursued'". The witness assured the Commission that "these instructions were rigidly obeyed".

2. The Arrest

50. The Commission knows very little about the circumstances of Mr. Lumumba's pursuit and arrest at Mweka about 20 or 30 miles from Port Francqui. It only knows that a certain Major Pongo was in charge of the search

and that it was this officer who arrested Mr. Lumumba. The Commission was also informed that Major Pongo had asked the ONUC forces to put a helicopter at his disposal to enable him to look for Mr. Lumumba, and that the United Nations representatives had told him they could not place any U.N. transport at his disposal; the search was entirely his own responsibility, and the U.N. could not possibly place any aircraft at the disposal of the Congolese authorities for that purpose.

51. As regards the circumstances of the arrest, the Commission has been unable to hear any eyewitness. However, the following facts emerge from information given by ONUC Headquarters in Leopoldville: Mr. Lumumba made a speech at Mweka and had luncheon in a public establishment, where he appears to have made the speech. It was then that the soldiers of the Congolese army who were pursuing him learned of his whereabouts and arrested him. Those soldiers then took him to Port Francqui, whence he was sent by plane to Leopoldville. Mr. Lumumba was arrested at Mweka on November 30 or December 1.

ARRIVAL OF MR. LUMUMBA AT LEOPOLDVILLE, HIS DETENTION THERE AND AT THYSVILLE. EFFORTS MADE BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL AND HIS REPRESENTATIVES ON THE PRISONER'S BEHALF

1. Arrival at Leopoldville

52. According to information given by the ONUC troops stationed at the Ndjili airport, Mr. Lumumba landed there on December 2, 1960, at 5.15 p.m. under close guard. The prisoner was then placed on a lorry and taken off the same day to an unknown destination. Lumumba's arrival at Leopoldville after his arrest was described by the Secretary-

General in the following terms in his report dated December 5, 1960, to the Security Council:

"Press and radio reports indicated that at the time of Mr. Lumumba's arrest he was brutally manhandled and struck with rifle butts by the CNA soldiers. When he came out of the aircraft at Ndjili airport, United Nations observers reported that he was without his glasses and wearing a soiled shirt; his hair was in disorder; he had a blood clot on his cheek and his hands were tied behind his back. He was roughly pushed into a CNA truck with rifle butts and driven off. The press reports state that Mr. Lumumba was taken to the residence of the Chief of Staff of the Congolese Army, where he was surrounded by Congolese soldiers with machine-guns trained upon him. The Chief of Staff of the Congolese Army declined to see him and ordered that he be placed under arrest in Camp Binza, where he was removed for the night.

"The following morning, December 3, he was removed under a very heavy escort of armoured cars and heavily armed Congolese soldiers in vehicles to Thysville. His departure was witnessed by members of the international press, who report that Mr. Lumumba walked to the truck with considerable difficulty. He was in a dishevelled condition and his face showed signs of recent blows.

"United Nations troops in Thysville have reported that Mr. Lumumba is under detention in Camp Hardy. He is said to be suffering from serious injuries received before his arrival. His head has been shaven and his hands remain tied. He is being kept in a cell under conditions reported to be inhumane in respect of health and hygiene."

(The next few sections contain the correspondence between the U.N. Secretary-General and President Kasavu-

bu written at the close of 1960 and relating to Patrice Lumumba's arrest. The prison conditions in Thysville are briefly described. According to what the Commission learned from U.N. representatives in Leopoldville the prison conditions in Thysville were normal. However, the opposite is stated in a letter Lumumba wrote to Mr. Dayal, Special Representative of the U.N. Secretary-General. The letter was smuggled out of Thysville prison on January 4, 1961 [see pp. 44-46].)

DEPARTURE OF MR. LUMUMBA AND HIS COMPANIONS, MR. OKITO AND MR. MPOLO, FROM THYSVILLE AND THEIR ARRIVAL AT ELISABETHVILLE AIRPORT

58. It has been difficult, and indeed almost impossible, to obtain precise information regarding the circumstances in which the prisoners left the garrison at Thysville. The only information which has come to the Commission's knowledge on this point was provided by a journalist, who himself was not an eyewitness of the events.

59. His account is as follows: A representative of the Congolese *Sûreté* sent by Mr. Nendeka, Director of the *Sûreté* at Leopoldville, arrived at Thysville military camp on January 17 and informed Mr. Lumumba and his two companions that there had been a coup d'état at Leopoldville, that President Kasavubu, Colonel Mobutu, Mr. Bomboko and Mr. Ileo, Prime Minister designate, were in prison and that Mr. Lumumba was needed at Leopoldville to form the new Government. Mr. Lumumba, who was convinced that he was going to emerge victorious from the crisis, apparently felt no doubt as regards his informant's intentions and agreed to leave the garrison. He then seems to have been taken to Lukala airport, a few miles from Thysville, where he was put on to a small aircraft belonging to the Belgian company *Air-Brousse* with his two

companions, Mr. Okito and Mr. Mpolo, as well as the representative of the Congolese *Sûreté*. The aircraft then headed for Moanda, a small place on the shore of the Atlantic, where it landed a few minutes later. From there the four passengers were transferred to a DC-4 belonging to the Air-Congo company and piloted by a Belgian of the name of Bauwens. It appears that the prisoners were beaten up while in this plane. The witness stated in this connexion that "according to the account of Mr. Bauwens, the Sabena pilot, all three were tied to one another and beaten up during the whole flight from Moanda to Elisabethville". Bauwens, according to the witness, said "that they were so severely beaten up that the Belgian crew were disgusted and shut themselves up in the front cabin of the aircraft".

60. Although the statement relating to the inducement which led Mr. Lumumba to leave Thysville was repeated by another person (who was also not an eyewitness), the Commission does not accept the facts as established. On the other hand, the fact that the prisoners were beaten up during the flight appears to be well-founded, since the report of the ONUC soldiers stationed at Elisabethville aerodrome also described the prisoners as having arrived at the airport in a pitiful state.

61. The arrival of the prisoners at Elisabethville was described by Mr. I. E. Berendsen, the ONUC representative at Elisabethville, when he appeared before the Commission. He said:

"I first learned of the arrival of Mr. Lumumba, Mr. Mpolo and Mr. Okito, in Elisabethville, on the evening of January 17, just an hour or two after it occurred. It appears that a special plane carrying these people arrived at Elisabethville airport, round which considerable security precautions were observed, and that three persons—namely, Mr. Lumumba and his two associates—

were disembarked from this plane in the presence of a number of U.N. guards.

"It was some time before I got the report of those guards—I had heard other accounts of the incident beforehand, but I myself questioned the guards very carefully to get the exact facts of the arrival. It appears, first of all, that a very large number of Katangese soldiers and policemen, amounting to over 100, were drawn up to receive the plane, which was taken to a separate military area in the airport, and that a cordon was drawn up round the plane to prevent anybody, including six U.N. guards, who were at a distance of from 50 to 100 yards, from approaching the airplane. When the door was opened, a well-dressed man got out of it, followed by three persons with bound hands and blindfolded faces, who were pushed along a space of about 10 or 15 yards from the steps of the plane to a jeep. In the course of being propelled along, they were subjected to a number of blows from the butts of rifles, blows which were described by the Swedish guards as severe and even brutal. They were put into these jeeps, which hurriedly departed down the runway of the airport, in an area where there is normally no access to the airport whatsoever. Either because there was some small unused gate or because an actual cut was made in the fence, the procession departed from the airport at the far end, and no further trace of the convoy was seen by the Swedish troops.

"I may state that the Swedish troops made no identification of the persons concerned, except that the first of the prisoners had a small beard. The Swedish troops did not intervene—in fact, were powerless to intervene—in this operation, which took in all about two minutes; it took that time to transfer them from the plane to the jeep and drive away. But the guards were sufficiently concerned at the rather unusual precautions taken by the Katanga authorities to have the Swedish

guard company stand to. However, by that time the prisoners had been removed."

62. The witness stated that on the following day, before he had received the report from the Swedish guards indicating that acts of violence had occurred at the airport with regard to the three prisoners, he had seen Mr. Tshombe, the President of the Provincial Government of Katanga, in connexion with another question, and had taken the opportunity to talk to the President about the news which had been published to the effect that Mr. Lumumba and his two fellow prisoners had been transferred to Katanga. The witness said he had expressed the opinion on this occasion that, if it were true that the Katanga Government had agreed to take charge of the three prisoners, "it had certainly exposed itself to a lot of potential trouble". He further informed the Commission that Mr. Tshombe had, incidentally, admitted that the Katanga Government had received the individuals in question: Mr. Tshombe had stated that for many months the authorities at Leopoldville had been requesting the Katanga authorities to accept Mr. Lumumba for safer custody, but that the Katanga Government, being well aware of the difficulties involved in accepting him, had repeatedly refused. Mr. Tshombe had added that the Leopoldville authorities, through Mr. Delvaux, a Minister in the Ileo Government, had again asked the Katanga authorities to accept Mr. Lumumba and that on this occasion the Katanga Government had agreed to consider it. Nevertheless, Mr. Tshombe had told him that no final agreement had been reached on that between the two Governments at the time when the Katanga authorities were informed that an aircraft carrying the prisoners was about to land at Elisabethville. Mr. Tshombe had also stated that he had personally seen Mr. Lumumba and his companions on the evening of January 17, and that as a result of the beating and ill-treatment, which they had received on the plane, they were "in a



Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba and his close associates, Maurice Mpolo and Joseph Okito, before they were taken to Thysville prison

sad state", and that Mr. Lumumba, whose face was all puffed up, had appealed to him, somewhat piteously, for his protection. Mr. Berendsen added that he had told Mr. Tshombe that in his opinion it would be very much in the interest of the Katanga authorities, if they wished to avoid serious repercussions, to return Mr. Lumumba and his companions to Leopoldville and in the meantime to take every precaution to see that the prisoners were not ill-treated in Katanga.

66. Concluding his evidence the witness stated: "From the very day following Mr. Lumumba's arrival in Elisabethville, rumours were current in the town that he and his associates had been killed. . . . These rumours, at least for a considerable period of time, were quite uncircumstantiated and unconfirmed. I may say that rumours of all sorts and conditions—many of them wildly contrary to the facts as known to us—were in the habit of circulating in Elisabethville and, I think, quite generally in the Congo at that time, and from being a question of speculation to becoming a rumour was a very natural step." In reply to a question the witness stated that these reports had been denied to him personally and that at least for some days after the prisoners' arrival and up to the time when the Conciliation Commission had visited Elisabethville, Mr. Tshombe had denied them personally. He added that the Katanga Government had in fact denied press reports, which had appeared in the outside world, that Mr. Mpolo had been killed and he believed that Mr. Tshombe once again, in answer to press questions, had denied those reports just before the announcement of the prisoners' escape.

67. The way in which the prisoners were received on their arrival at Luano airport, near Elisabethville, by the Katanga authorities was described in detail in a report made by Warrant Officer Lindgren, who was in charge of the United Nations guard at this place. The contents of this report, which was telegraphed to the Secretary-General,

were communicated to the Commission. He gave the following account of what happened: "On January 17, a DC-4 of Air-Congo taxied directly up to the hangar of the Katangese military aviation, which is not included in the area patrolled by the United Nations company stationed at the airport. An armoured vehicle, trucks and jeeps drove up to the plane and surrounded it, after which gendarmes formed a cordon about 75 metres around the plane. A number of gendarmes, about 20, formed a gauntlet from the plane to the jeep that was driven up. The armoured vehicle directed its cannon towards the door of the plane. . . . First to leave the plane was a smartly dressed African. . . . Three other Africans followed the first passenger, blindfolded and with their hands tied behind their backs. One of them, the first, had a small beard. As they came down the stairs, the police ran to them, kicked them all, beat them with their rifle butts and threw them on to the jeep. Four gendarmes then jumped into the jeep and sat down. At that point, one of the three prisoners yelled loudly. The jeep then took the lead of the vehicle convoy and drove off along the runway towards the far end of the airfield, where an opening was cut in the fence."

68. As has been mentioned earlier, the transfer of Mr. Lumumba and his two companions, Mr. Okito and Mr. Mpolo, from Thysville to Katanga was officially confirmed by Mr. Tshombe, the President of the Provincial Government of Katanga, to Mr. Berendsen, the ONUC representative at Elisabethville, on January 18. During the conversation which took place between them, Mr. Tshombe indicated that the transfer had been requested by President Kasavubu two months earlier and had on each occasion been met with a refusal by the Katanga authorities to receive him. The question had recently been raised again by Mr. Delvaux, a member of Mr. Ileo's Government, in connexion with the mutiny which had taken place at Thysville. The Katanga authorities had not given their final consent when the prisoners had suddenly arrived unannounced

at Elisabethville airport, to which they had been brought by an Air-Congo aircraft.

69. The transfer of the prisoners to Katanga Province was also confirmed by a communiqué issued by the Katanga Ministry of Information on January 19. The communiqué stated, *inter alia*: "At the request of President Kasavubu and with the agreement of the Katangan Government, the traitor Patrice Lumumba has been transferred to Katanga, as the prison of Thysville no longer offers sufficient guarantees."

RECAPITULATION OF THE VARIOUS EXISTING VERSIONS OF THE DEATHS OF THE PRISONERS

84. After the transfer of Mr. Lumumba, Mr. Okito and Mr. Mpolo to Katanga, rumours of their death began to spread in Katanga, and in the other parts of the Congo. Those rumours suddenly became persistent at Elisabethville around February 9. This is confirmed by a telegram from the ONUC representative dated February 9. At Leopoldville itself, a press correspondent stated on February 10 that Mr. Lumumba, Mr. Okito and Mr. Mpolo had been executed on January 18 at Elisabethville. This journalist asserted that his information came from Congolese sources at Leopoldville, which claimed to have had the news from an eyewitness. According to that account, Mr. Okito was killed by the gendarmerie at 9 p.m. and half an hour later Mr. Mpolo was brought along and shown his companion's dead body in a large pit. He had knelt down to pray and had been killed in that position: his body fell into the pit. A quarter of an hour later, Mr. Lumumba was brought there and killed by a Belgian captain, with whom the correspondent claimed to have been in personal contact.

85. During the morning of the same day, in a statement broadcast by Radio-Katanga, Mr. Munongo, Minister of the

Interior of Katanga Province, announced that Mr. Lumumba and his two fellow prisoners, Mr. Okito and Mr. Mpolo, had escaped during the night from the Kolatey farm, near the road from Kasai to Mutshatsha, where they had been in custody (annex 14). It was said that the three prisoners had overcome their guards, gagged them, seized their rifles and fled in a black Ford car with enough petrol for about a hundred kilometres. Mr. Munongo said that a search had been organised by land and air and that road blocks had been set up throughout the region. He added that a reward of 300,000 Congolese francs and 50,000 Congolese francs would be given to anyone who could give information leading to the capture, respectively, of Mr. Lumumba and each of his fellow prisoners.

86. On February 11, 1961, Radio-Katanga issued a communiqué stating, *inter alia*,

"Mr. Godefroy Munongo, Minister of the Interior of Katanga, held a press conference this morning in which he gave further details on the subject of the escape of the traitor Lumumba and his collaborators Mpolo and Okito. The Minister of the Interior said: 'Gentlemen, I have called you together to give you the latest details on the status of the search. . . . A Commission of Enquiry has left this morning. It is composed of the Chief Commissioner of Police, the Deputy Chief Police Commissioner, a security officer, a police inspector from Elisabethville and an official of the Police Laboratory. . . . Here now is the latest news, as it has just reached us by cablegram: "Population aiding in search have discovered car A 99-142 abandoned in a ditch along power line 1 KM beyond road to Mutsoba. Ignition key housing in dashboard had been unscrewed and car had been started by connecting dashboard wires. No traces of any injuries to occupants despite shock, which must have been severe. Any tracks of occupants erased by night's rain and traffic of local population. There was

no trace of the rifles. Search with aid of population continues" . . . ' (annex 15).

87. On the morning of February 13, 1961, the Government of Katanga Province published a communiqué on the circumstances of the escape of the three prisoners.

88. The Commission considers it advisable, for a better understanding of the facts of the case, to give the text of this communiqué in full:

"The Commission of Inquiry on the escape of Lumumba returned to Elisabethville last night. It submitted a report to the Ministry of the Interior this morning at 6 a.m. The preliminary conclusions of the inquiry are as follows:

"The escape took place in the night of February 9 to 10 apparently towards midnight. The prisoners made a hole measuring about 35×40 centimetres in the rear wall of the house. The hole was made with the aid of spikes used to hold up the curtains. This task was made easier by the fact that the walls were made of mud bricks. An additional factor was that a violent storm was then raging and thus made harder to hear any noise made by the prisoners. After they had escaped through the hole, they seized some pieces of firewood in the vicinity of the house and used these to strike down the two sentinels who had relieved the guard at 11 p.m. The sentinels were then tied up with pieces of the curtains, which were of white cotton. The prisoners then apparently broke into the Ford automobile that had been used to transfer them from place to place. This vehicle was about 25 metres from the house. Apparently, the prisoners pushed the vehicle for some time and did not start the engine until they were a fair distance from the house. They started it up by connecting the wires leading to the dashboard. As Lumumba and his accomplices apparently did not want to take a main road, they turned left on to a road leading to the North which

ended in a sandy track. The evidence indicates that they were travelling at a fairly high speed and, in an attempt to avoid a tree trunk, drove into a small brook. The damage observed included a twisted door, a dented bumper and a broken rear-view mirror. The inhabitants of the village of Mukondoto found, a few metres from the damaged vehicle, weapons which the fugitives had stolen from the sentinels. The replies to the various questions put to the villagers appeared to indicate that no one saw the fugitives. According to the customary chiefs, the fugitives cannot be very far away, and the chiefs have sworn that they will use every possible means to find them. According to the latest news based on the reports from indigenous persons arriving at Kolwezi and at Kasai it would seem that the fugitives were about to be captured. The place where they are hiding is thought to be known. This morning the Minister for the Interior, accompanied by other Ministers, went to Kolwezi to verify the first report of inquiry. This trip can, in fact, be regarded as that of the second commission of inquiry. The position of the fugitives is certainly very unenviable, for they are in an area where the entire population is favourable to the Tshombe Government. The villagers are taking part in all the search operations and some of the customary chiefs have even said that they were looking for the fugitives, not because of the reward, but rather for the honour of finding the traitors. All road traffic in this area has been blocked."

89. On the same day, the Minister of the Interior announced at a press conference the death of Mr. Lumumba and his two fellow prisoners. According to the evidence of a journalist heard by the Commission, at this press conference, which he had attended, and which began at 12.30 p.m., a typed communiqué was circulated to those present. The Commission has examined the communiqué. In this document, the Minister of the Interior stated that he had

summoned the journalists to tell them of the death of Lumumba and his accomplices Okito and Mpolo. He added: "Yesterday evening (i.e., on the evening of the 12th) a Katangan from the Kolwezi region came to my private residence to inform me that Lumumba, Okito and Mpolo had been massacred yesterday morning (on the morning of the 12th) by the inhabitants of a small village situated 'quite a distance' from the place where the vehicle had been discovered." He continued: "We flew to the spot this morning, the party consisting of a number of persons capable of identifying the three bodies, Minister Kibwe, Minister Kitenge and myself. We were accompanied by a doctor, who was to make out a death certificate if the bodies did in fact prove to be those of Lumumba, Okito and Mpolo. They were identified beyond any possibility of doubt and their death was certified. The bodies were immediately buried in a place which we shall not reveal, if only to prevent any pilgrimages being made to it..."

EXAMINATION OF THE VARIOUS VERSIONS

Version Given by the Katanga Government

90. The Commission examined with the greatest attention the version of the facts given by the Government of Katanga Province. In order to verify it, the Commission took the evidence of several witnesses, including that of two close members of Mr. Tshombe's entourage. After comparing the evidence, *the Commission is not convinced by the version of the facts given by the Provincial Government of Katanga** for the following reasons:

91. *The reluctance of the Leopoldville authorities and those of the Province of Katanga to allow the United Nations Conciliation Commission and representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross to visit the*

* Commission's own underlining.

*prisoners justifies the belief that something serious had happened to Mr. Lumumba and his fellow prisoners and that the Congolese authorities were obviously trying to conceal the truth.**

95. (2) In studying the account of the alleged escape of the three prisoners, the Commission had the advantage of hearing on this subject Mr. Knecht, the former Chief of the Geneva police, at that time attached to ONUC, and later heard a senior official of the Katanga Government closely associated with Mr. Tshombe.

96. It will be recalled that on the morning of February 10, just after the announcement of the alleged escape, General Iyassu, Chief of Staff of the United Nations Force, accompanied by Mr. Knecht and another senior official of ONUC, left Leopoldville for Elisabethville, in order to contact Mr. Tshombe and the Katangan authorities and, with their co-operation, to elicit full particulars of what had happened....

97. As the full text of the communiqué published by the Katanga Ministry of the Interior has been reproduced above, the Commission thinks it necessary to quote the relevant passages of Mr. Knecht's evidence:

"For a while we heard nothing more about Mr. Lumumba. On, I believe, February 10 or 11, 1961, the news came out that Mr. Lumumba had once more escaped.

"At that time I received instructions to investigate the matter. I went to Elisabethville with General Iyassu, who was in command of the Ethiopian troops, and a Captain Fides, a Canadian. We reached Elisabethville on a Sunday morning, with the idea of investigating the events which had led to Mr. Lumumba's death. When we arrived in Elisabethville, the representative of the United Nations there requested an interview with Mr. Tshombe.... However, Mr. Tshombe refused to receive

us, stating that the whole matter was no concern of the United Nations, that it was entirely an internal matter, and the events leading to Mr. Lumumba's escape were to be reconstructed on the orders of the authorities in Katanga. The press was invited; or, rather, one journalist was invited to be present. This was a German newspaperman named Stinner, representing American newspapers and not knowing a single word of French. This reconstruction was carried out by a Belgian officer named Allard. The people who took part in this reconstruction were led to a villa belonging to a lady named Zumbach, and they were shown the place from which Mr. Lumumba was supposed to have escaped. Mr. Lumumba and his two colleagues were supposed to have been held in that villa. The people were shown the hole in the wall of this villa, which had been made by them, and they were shown the sheets which had supposedly served to tie up the sentries. They were told that the three men had found a car, that they had escaped in the car and that they had ended up in a dead-end street. That was the story as it was given.

"I personally asked the journalist to make me a sketch of the place—which he kindly did—because I immediately found that there was something strange about the explanation. If you have to guard three people at a certain place and you have two sentries, and there are two doors, the logical thing would be to put one sentry at each door, but this was not done. The two sentries had been placed at one of the doors, leaving the other door unguarded. This obviously indicates that there was something unclear about the matter. There were two beds, and there was a curtain rod, with which a hole in the wall could be made. There were no curtains. There were no sheets on the beds, the sheets having supposedly been used to tie up the sentries. So it seemed to us from the very beginning that the explanations given were rather bizarre and that something must be wrong here.

* Commission's own underlining.

"I hope that you will be convinced that these explanations, supplied by the Government of Katanga, do not hold water. Here are prisoners who manage to escape. If they used sheets to tie up the sentries, the sheets would not be exactly right; there would be some shreds of material left. But there was nothing of the sort. The sheets seem to have been prepared nicely in advance so that they would appear to have been used to tie up the sentries. Everything seems to have been well prepared.

"The prisoners are supposed to have passed in front of a sentry post. Well, at a sentry post, there should be a sentry, but it so happened that at that time there was no sentry. When they got out of the place, they found a Ford car, which happened to be there. These people, who had been in prison for four months, happened to have the right kind of wire needed to start the car. In the absence of a key, they had to use a wire to make the required connexion to start the engine. All the coincidences seem rather peculiar, to say the least. Then the car crossed a bridge, where normally two sentries were on guard, but at that time there were no sentries on guard at all. There were two possible roads for them, one good and the other bad. They took the wrong road, one which led them to a dead-end, and their car crashed at the end of that road. There were three people in the car, and they are supposed to have opened the four doors of the car and got out. They had taken the weapons of the sentries and placed one weapon on the right of the car and one on the left.

"This story seems to me to be illogical and incredible. The confirmation of this opinion came a few days later, when Mr. Munongo, who is the Minister of the Interior of the Katanga Government and the strong man of the regime, called a press conference and told the press representatives that the three prisoners had escaped and had later been arrested near a village the name

of which would not be published, that the villagers who arrested these men had killed them, that justice had been done and these villagers would be paid the promised reward."

98. The Commission also heard on June 26 a senior Katanga official, a close associate of Mr. Tshombe, on the same subject.

In the course of his evidence, the witness informed the Commission that before announcing the news of the escape of the three prisoners, Mr. Munongo, Minister of the Interior of Katanga Province, had asked him for his advice as to whether or not he should publish the news, and the witness had replied that it should be made public so that the population in the area could be alerted and might help to find Mr. Lumumba. The witness went on to say that there was "something wrong" with the Government's statement on the escape. When asked to explain himself on this point, he said: "The only element that may cause some doubt, as far as a Westerner is concerned, is the surprising negligence of the sentries, who were in charge of important prisoners," and added: "However, as I have said before, such negligence is quite common in the Congo, where it is said that sentries do their duty while asleep. After all, I believe the same team of sentries had been guarding these people for three weeks." The witness later informed the Commission that the soldiers who had been detailed to guard the prisoners and who had followed them during their many moves numbered fifteen or sixteen. On being asked for details about the house where the prisoners had been held on the evening of the escape, he said:

"I have seen all the photographs, about fifty of them, which were at the Ministry of the Interior. They were all taken by the commission investigating the escape. Some of these photographs have been published in the local press . . . I have always lived in large towns (Leopoldville, Elisabethville). . . and never in the bush. But I know

about adobe bricks. Their dimensions are about 50×25 cm, approximately four times the size of an ordinary brick. I think it was said at the time that the wall was particularly thick. Thus, there must have been a double width of bricks, or a width of some 50 cm."

The witness then explained that, in order to escape, the prisoners "had taken out two hooks above the window". He went on: "You see what I mean; there were two iron hooks which held up a curtain or curtain rod in front of the window. Those two hooks had been taken out of the wall, which was relatively solid. I think that it is with those two hooks that they scraped at the bricks of the wall and thus removed them." In reply to a question, however, the witness said: "Yes, it was a solid building, made of adobe bricks. Although the material itself is not solid, that is compensated by a greater width."

99. On the basis of the evidence outlined above, the Commission has the following remarks to make with regard to the escape story.

(a) It is improbable that the prisoners, who arrived at Elisabethville on January 17 in a "sad state" as described by Mr. Tshombe himself and allegedly were moved from one place to another in Katanga something like four times in the course of three weeks, would have had sufficient strength and opportunity to make in one hour a hole of 35×45 cm in a wall of the type described by the witness, with ordinary curtain spikes. It will be recalled that the Katanga communiqué on the work of the Commission of Inquiry indicates that the "job" was done between 11 p.m. and midnight.

(b) The version of the Government of Katanga Province is not clear enough to explain where and how prisoners, who had been in detention for over two months, could have found the right kind of materials and instruments "to remove the ignition key house" (annex 15), to connect the dashboard wires and start the car.

(c) It is also strange that only two soldiers should have

been detailed to guard three prisoners during the night, although according to the Katanga Government's announcement they had an escort of 15 men all along.

(d) As far as the Commission is aware, no disciplinary action was taken by the Government against the officer in charge of the guard, for the obvious neglect of duty described above, which the Katanga Government must surely have noted if the alleged facts had been true.

(e) Lastly, the Katanga Government's refusal to allow ONUC officials sent by the Secretary-General to Elisabethville to investigate the circumstances of the escape, to go to the scene of the alleged events, constitutes, together with other reasons given above, valid and strong grounds for the presumption that the story of the escape is untrue. . . .

101. (4) It also wishes to point out that the identification of the dead bodies was done in a manner contrary to generally accepted rules. It would also observe that, despite many representations made by the families of the victims and by the Secretary-General's Special Representative in the Congo, the Provincial Government of Katanga blatantly refused to produce the bodies of the deceased. In this connexion, the Commission considers that the arguments advanced by the Government to justify its refusal were specious. . . .

103. Lastly the Commission is firmly of the view that the Katanga Government's categorical refusal to give up the bodies to the families of the deceased or let anybody see them, when either course was obviously necessary in its own interest in order to convince the public of the truth of its assertions, shows that these assertions were unfounded and that the prisoners were not killed in the circumstances alleged by the Government.

104. (5) Furthermore the tone of Mr. Munongo, Minister of the Interior, when he announced the death of the prisoners in terms savouring of personal spite, was such as to confirm the impression that the version given by the

Provincial Government of Katanga was false. In this connexion, the Commission would point out that Mr. Munongo, after refusing to give any details on the circumstances in which, according to him, the prisoners had died, added: "I know that some people will say we murdered him. My answer to that is: 'Prove it.'" The Commission attaches considerable responsibility to Mr. Munongo for this cynicism and challenge.

105. During its inquiry, the Commission heard the testimony of a journalist who had attended this press conference. The witness stated that all the journalists present had the definite impression that the Minister was "not telling the truth". He continued:

"... At the same press conference Mr. Munongo also said: 'I know that some people will say we murdered him. My answer to that is: "Prove it."'

"... As I have said, my colleagues and I had the impression that Mr. Munongo was lying to us and was not even making a serious attempt to conceal the fact that he was lying—and this for three reasons. First of all, as I have said, he did not even make much effort to convince us: 'Prove it.' Those words were pretty revealing. Next, when we pressed him with questions he became ill at ease, because he no longer had a prepared text; he was obviously afraid of contradicting himself and started lying like a child. That was the impression he gave. In the end, he became extraordinarily irritated and said, 'That is enough questions for now', etc. He even made the extraordinary statement: 'Gentlemen, ask me intelligent questions because you are dealing with an intelligent minister.'

"Then he ended the conference and we left."...

Other Versions

108. The Commission also heard three other witnesses, who gave their own versions of the circumstances surrounding the death of Mr. Lumumba and his fellow prison-

ers. All these witnesses asked the Commission not to publish their names, for fear of reprisals against themselves and their families.

109. (1) The first witness heard by the Commission stated that Mr. Lumumba and his companions were taken from Thysville to Moanda and then to Elisabethville, and that during the flight they were badly ill-treated by the Congolese soldiers accompanying them. When the aircraft landed at Elisabethville, Mr. Lumumba and his companions were transferred to a lorry and taken several kilometres away from the airport. Mr. Munongo, who had been awaiting Mr. Lumumba's arrival, approached him and, after a few remarks, took a bayonet from the rifle of one of the soldiers and plunged it into Mr. Lumumba's chest. While Mr. Lumumba lay on the ground dying, a certain Captain Ruys, a Belgian mercenary serving in the Katanga army, ended his sufferings by putting a bullet through his head. The witness believed that Captain Ruys' act was purely humanitarian. He stated that, when Mr. Tshombe heard of Mr. Lumumba's death, he became furious, but, confronted with a *fait accompli*, he was obliged to devise means of misleading the public. He had Mr. Lumumba's body taken to a refrigerator at the laboratory of the Union Minière du Haut Katanga. The body was then put into formol. He further stated that it was only some weeks later that the story of the alleged escape and subsequent death of the prisoners was made public.

110. The witness believes that the transfer of Mr. Lumumba and his companions from Thysville to Elisabethville was organised and carried out by a representative of Mr. Nendeka, Chief of the Sûreté in Leopoldville. The original idea, he said, had been to send Mr. Lumumba and his companions to Bakwanga in Kasai, but the aircraft had been redirected to Elisabethville when it was learned that United Nations troops were at Bakwanga airport. This version was confirmed by other witnesses, including a senior official of the Katanga administration heard by

the Commission. Bakwanga is the capital of the mining State of South Kasai, the government of which was headed by Mr. Kalonji, another avowed enemy of Mr. Lumumba's. Many people, including Mr. Finant, the Governor of Orientale Province, who were sent there by the Leopoldville authorities apparently for security reasons, were killed there in horrible circumstances, and the place was known as the "slaughterhouse". It was therefore improbable that Mr. Lumumba and his companions would have met a different fate at Bakwanga if they had been taken there.

111. The witness who informed the Commission of these facts said that he first went to the Congo in 1943 and subsequently made several trips covering long periods and had thus made many friends and acquaintances among the Belgians and Congolese in the Congo. It was through those people that he had learned of the circumstances in which Mr. Lumumba and his companions had been killed. He based his account, *inter alia*, on a report from the Katanga Sûreté which had reached the Department of African Affairs in Brussels, a photostat of which he had seen. The report of the Katanga Sûreté, he said, was typewritten in single spacing on two pages, summarising the events which had occurred between the arrival of the prisoners at Elisabethville and the time when Mr. Lumumba's body was placed in the mining company's laboratory.

112. (2) A second version came to the Commission from ONUC. A British mercenary, captured by the United Nations in Katanga and evacuated from the Congo in accordance with paragraph A-2 of the Security Council resolution of February 21, 1961, volunteered information to the ONUC Chief of Military Information, at Brazzaville, before he boarded a plane for Johannesburg. He stated that while on leave in Johannesburg from his service in the Katanga gendarmerie, he had learned from his wife that Mr. Russell-Cargill had told her that Mr. Lumumba and his two companions had been killed by the Belgian

Colonel Huyghe. When this British mercenary met Colonel Huyghe later, he asked him whether this story was true. Colonel Huyghe admitted that he had shot Mr. Lumumba and his two companions with the assistance of a certain Captain Gat, another Belgian mercenary, and a few other volunteers serving with the Katanga gendarmerie in the area of Elisabethville, in a villa garden, where a few men had gathered for drinks to "celebrate" the arrival of Mr. Lumumba and his companions. The British mercenary added that Mr. Tshombe, Mr. Munongo and some other Ministers were present at the time of the murder, as was Mr. Russell-Cargill. He could not state the exact date of the event, although he supposed it to have occurred on the day the prisoners arrived at Elisabethville. Colonel Huyghe told him that the murder had been planned in advance. The bodies were removed and taken out of town, but no details were disclosed as to the place or means of final disposal.

The British mercenary further stated that Colonel Huyghe had appeared to be very nervous and since then had seen a psychiatrist. Colonel Huyghe carried a loaded pistol at all times and kept hand grenades in his bedroom to resist arrest.

The mercenary in question believed Huyghe's account of the murder to be true, and considered it to be corroborated by other indications. But when shown a transcript of his statement by the ONUC officer, to whom he had volunteered his statement, he was unwilling to sign it, but he agreed that it was correct in all particulars.

113. (3) The foregoing account of the murder was confirmed by another British mercenary who appeared, as a witness, before the Commission. He said *inter alia*:

"I cannot actually give you word for word what he said, because we had both been drinking; but it stands out very clearly in my mind as to his general replies. I asked Huyghe to tell me, 'Is it true, what the papers

have stated about Lumumba escaping in a car? If so, it is pretty bloody ridiculous'—excuse my English—'to leave a car outside for the prisoners to escape, unless it was pre-arranged.'

"Huyghe then told me the story in the first person. He mentioned that he was present at the execution of Lumumba. I asked him to tell me more, and he carried on by telling me, first of all, that there were Katangese African troops present at the farmhouse where Lumumba and his two henchmen were kept. There was also a Minister present—I cannot remember whether he said Munongo or Kibwe, but I know it was a Minister of importance.

"He then went on to say that the two lieutenants of Lumumba were brought into a room and were told to pray for their lives, and that they were then shot in the back of the head as they knelt.

"He then mentioned that Lumumba was brought into the room, and that he himself personally shot Lumumba...."

114. There are slight discrepancies on minor points in the statements made by the two mercenaries. But their accounts of the facts of the murder are essentially the same.

115. (4) Lastly, the Commission heard another senior official of the Provincial Government of Katanga, who was closely associated with Mr. Tshombe. He told the Commission that a message had been sent in December 1960 to Mr. Tshombe by President Kasavubu, asking him to keep Mr. Lumumba in Katanga. Mr. Tshombe consulted his political advisers, who urged him not to take responsibility for the prisoner. Consequently, Mr. Tshombe informed President Kasavubu he was unable to have Mr. Lumumba as a prisoner in Katanga. On January 15, 1961, Mr. Tshombe received a further message on the subject signed either by President Kasavubu or by General Mobutu. On this

occasion, Mr. Tshombe did not consult his political advisers, but with the concurrence of some of his Ministers decided to receive Mr. Lumumba. On the same day Mr. Tshombe replied to the message and two days later (January 17, 1961), Mr. Lumumba and his two fellow prisoners were flown to Elisabethville. The next morning, the witness said, the rumour spread through the town that Mr. Lumumba and his companions had been killed. He added that on the same day Mr. Samalengé, the Katanga Minister of Information, had boasted about the death of the prisoners to his aides in the Information Service, who in turn spread the news around the town. He continued:

"When I saw the President on Wednesday morning—as was my custom every day—he seemed to be rather upset. I mean that he was not his usual self and seemed to be greatly worried. I noted that he summoned Mr. Samalengé, the Minister of Information, and kept him with him for a fairly long time. I recall that the President did not hold a meeting of his Cabinet on the following day, as he was ill.

"According to what I heard, some of the Ministers of the Katangan Government are supposed to have paid a visit to Mr. Lumumba on Tuesday evening; it is said that they became rather angry with him and that one of the Ministers suddenly struck Mr. Lumumba a hard blow. The latter is said to have fallen on a *bidet*, which it seems was in the room; it is said that he was knocked out and remained unconscious and—it seems—was killed by that blow. I do not know whether he had already been beaten beforehand, but it was said that he had already been severely manhandled in the aircraft."

When asked to explain what had happened to Mr. Lumumba's companions, the witness said that, "according to the rumours, they had also been killed, but as a result

of the accident, which was said to have occurred when the Prime Minister was manhandled".

(In the concluding sections of its report the Commission examined the version that the murder had been committed by a British mercenary in Katanga named Chalmers. But neither the U.N. representatives in the Congo nor the Commission itself accepted his statements as true.)

121. Before stating its views, the Commission desires to make the following observations: The conduct of Mr. Tshombe and Mr. Munongo was such that the Commission is of the opinion that they were not candid but that on the contrary they had definitely tried to put everybody on a false scent for the following reasons.

(1) Mr. Tshombe had given out a version to the effect that repeated requests were made to his Government to accept Mr. Lumumba by the Leopoldville authorities but that he had consistently refused. Finally, when this matter was last broached to him by an officer of the Leopoldville Government, he replied that he would consider the matter; but before he could make up his mind, news was received that a special plane was about to land in Elisabethville with the prisoners on board. The Commission has on record, however, a statement given by a senior Belgian officer of Mr. Tshombe's entourage at the time that in December 1960 President Kasavubu had requested Mr. Tshombe to accept Mr. Lumumba in Katanga. This officer and others had advised Mr. Tshombe against accepting the prisoners and therefore a negative reply was sent to President Kasavubu. A further message reached Mr. Tshombe on January 15, again asking him to accept Mr. Lumumba, but this time the advisers were not consulted and the matter was considered by the Council of Ministers, which decided to accept Mr. Lumumba. On this subject the Commission has already noted that the Minister of Information of Katanga issued on January 19 the following communiqué: "At the request of President Kasavubu and with the

consent of the Katangan Government, the traitor Patrice Lumumba has been transferred to Katanga as the prison at Thysville no longer offers sufficient guarantee."

(2) After the arrival of Mr. Lumumba and his associates in Elisabethville, the International Committee of the Red Cross made a request that their representative be allowed to interview Mr. Lumumba. This request was refused. Moreover, it was only when some three weeks later the United Nations Conciliation Commission became insistent in its desire to interview Mr. Lumumba that the Katanga authorities suddenly announced the escape of the prisoners (see paragraph 81). . . .

(4) It is on record that when Mr. Munongo announced the death of the prisoners he stated that they fully deserved their fate; this strong language, besides showing clearly Mr. Munongo's feelings, was probably used by him in an attempt to divert public attention from a very inconvenient fact at the door of the Provincial Government of Katanga.

(5) Although Mr. Munongo announced that Mr. Lumumba and his associates were killed by hostile tribesmen, he purposely withheld the name of the tribe involved. . . .

II. CONCLUSIONS

124. On the evidence so far available the Commission draws the following conclusions.

(1) The weight of evidence is against the official version of the Government of Katanga Province that Mr. Lumumba, Mr. Okito and Mr. Mpolo were killed by certain tribesmen on February 12, 1961.

(2) On the contrary, the Commission accepts as substantially true the evidence indicating that the prisoners were killed on January 17, 1961, after their arrival in a villa not far from Elisabethville and in all probability in the presence of high officials of the Government of Ka-

tanga Province, namely, Mr. Tshombe, Mr. Munongo and Mr. Kibwe, and that the escape story was staged.

(3) A great deal of suspicion is cast on a certain Colonel Huyghe, a Belgian mercenary, as being the actual perpetrator of Mr. Lumumba's murder which was committed in accordance with a pre-arranged plan, and that a certain Captain Gat, also a Belgian mercenary, was at all times an accessory to the crime. Regarding Mr. Okito and Mr. Mpolo, the evidence is not clear as to who actually murdered them, but the indications are that they were murdered about the same time as Mr. Lumumba.*

(4) In view of the lack of confirmation, the Commission considers that the evidence regarding:

(a) the shooting of Mr. Lumumba to put him out of misery by Captain Ruys,

(b) the placing of Mr. Lumumba's body in the refrigerator of the laboratory of the *Union Minière du Haut Katanga*,** and

(c) the confession of Chalmers, should be treated with caution. However, in this connexion the Commission desires to point out that these three aspects of the case should not be ignored in any future investigation. . . .

(6) The record of the Commission's work bristles with evidence indicative of the extensive role played by Mr. Munongo, the Katanga Minister of the Interior, in the entire plot leading to the murder of Mr. Lumumba, Mr. Okito and Mr. Mpolo.

The Commission again repeats that the attitude of the Government of the Republic of the Congo had prevented

* Both Colonel Huyghe and Captain Gat were in a position to appear before the Commission, but they avoided doing so, although they were made aware of the Commission's desire to interrogate them.

** The Commission invited Mr. Cousin, a director of the *Union Minière du Haut Katanga*, to appear, informing him of the allegation made against the company, but he refused to appear before the Commission.

it from going to the scene of the crime to carry out its investigation. Nevertheless, the Commission hopes that the results which it has managed to obtain can, to some extent, serve as a basis for a further investigation in the Congo, and also in judicial proceedings which, in its view, should be instituted as soon as possible.

(Signed) Justice U Aung Khine,
Chairman

(Signed) Ambassador Salvador
Martínez de Alva

(Signed) Mr. Tashoma Hailema-
riam

(Signed) Mr. Ayité d'Almeida,
Rapporteur

In February 1961 the Tunisian weekly *Afrique Action* published a document under the heading "Lumumba's Last Letter". It is believed that this letter was written by Lumumba in Thysville prison a few days before his death. Subsequently it became known as "Patrice Lumumba's Will".

It is, in fact, Lumumba's will, his last, beautiful and proud words to his family, his people and the whole world.

* * *

PATRICE LUMUMBA'S WILL

My dear wife, I am writing these words to you, not knowing whether they will ever reach you, or whether I shall be alive when you read them.

Throughout my struggle for the independence of our country I have never doubted the victory of our sacred cause, to which I and my comrades have dedicated all our lives.

The only thing which we wanted for our country is the right to a worthy life, to dignity without pretence, to independence without restrictions.

This was never the desire of the Belgian colonialists and their Western allies, who received, direct or indirect, open or concealed, support from some highly placed officials of the United Nations, the body upon which we placed all our hope when we appealed to it for help.

They corrupted some of our compatriots, bought others and did everything to distort the truth and smear our independence.

What I can say is this—alive or dead, free or in jail—it is not a question of me personally.

The main thing is the Congo, our unhappy people, whose independence is being trampled upon.

That is why they have shut us away in prison and why they keep us far away from the people. But my faith remains indestructible.

I know and feel deep in my heart that sooner or later my people will rid themselves of their internal and external enemies, that they will rise up as one in order to say "No" to colonialism, to brazen, dying colonialism, in order to win their dignity in a clean land.

We are not alone. Africa, Asia, the free peoples and the peoples fighting for their freedom in all corners of the world will always be side by side with the millions of Congolese who will not give up the struggle while there is even one colonialist or colonialist mercenary in our country.

To my sons, whom I am leaving and whom, perhaps, I shall not see again, I want to say that the future of the Congo is splendid and that I expect from them, as from every Congolese, the fulfilment of the sacred task of restoring our independence and our sovereignty.

Without dignity there is no freedom, without justice there is no dignity and without independence there are no free men.

Cruelty, insults and torture can never force me to ask for mercy, because I prefer to die with head high, with indestructible faith and profound belief in the destiny of our country than to live in humility and renounce the principles which are sacred to me.

The day will come when history will speak. But it will not be the history which will be taught in Brussels, Paris, Washington or the United Nations.

It will be the history that will be taught in the countries which have won freedom from colonialism and its puppets.

Africa will write its own history and in both north and south it will be a history of glory and dignity.

Do not weep for me. I know that my tormented country will be able to defend its freedom and its independence.

Long live the Congo!

Long live Africa!

Patrice LUMUMBA

Thysville prison

CHAPTER V

SOVIET UNION, TRUE FRIEND OF THE CONGO

The documents in this chapter show that as soon as the Republic of the Congo was formed the just aspirations of the Congolese to strengthen their young country were consistently supported by the Soviet Union in conformity with the behests of the great Lenin on the utmost aid to nations struggling for their liberation.

The Soviet Union was the first country to speak in defence of the Republic when it became the victim of aggression by Belgium and her NATO allies.

The Soviet Union defended and continues to defend the interests of the Congolese people in the international arena, exposing the imperialist intrigues against the integrity and independence of the Congo. The U.S.S.R. is a sincere and selfless friend of the Congolese people.

* * *

THE SOVIET UNION WELCOMES THE FOUNDING OF THE CONGO REPUBLIC

His Excellency, Mr. Patrice Lumumba,
Prime Minister of the Congo

Leopoldville

My dear Prime Minister,

On behalf of the Soviet people, the Government of the U.S.S.R. and myself, I congratulate you and all the Congo-

lese people warmly on the big historic occasion of the proclamation of the independence of the Congo.

Soviet people, who follow the national-liberation struggle of the African peoples with profound sympathy, sincerely congratulate the gallant people of the Congo, who have won their freedom and independence.

The historic victory of the Congolese over the forces of colonialism has struck a fresh and significant blow at the moribund colonial system and has once again demonstrated the unbending will and determination of the African peoples to put an end to that disgraceful system, which is based on the exploitation, inequality and misery of millions upon millions of oppressed people.

Acting undeviatingly upon the great principles of equality and self-determination of nations, which have been the cornerstone of the Soviet nationalities policy since the founding of the Soviet state, and moved by sentiments of profound respect for the legitimate national aspirations of the Congolese people, the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics solemnly declares its recognition of the Congo as an independent and sovereign state and expresses its readiness to establish diplomatic relations and exchange diplomatic representatives with it.

Allow me to express the hope that in the interests of our peoples, the U.S.S.R. and the Congo will establish friendly relations, which will promote greater international understanding and the triumph of the great ideals of peace and friendship among nations.

The Soviet people send heartfelt greetings to the freedom-loving Congolese people and wish them great success in the political, economic and cultural development of their country.

N. S. KHRUSHCHOV,
Chairman of the Council of Ministers
of the U.S.S.R.

The Kremlin,
Moscow,
June 29, 1960

HEARTFELT DESIRE FOR FRIENDSHIP

**His Excellency, Mr. N. S. Khrushchov,
Chairman of the Council of Ministers
of the U.S.S.R.**

Moscow

I thank you most warmly for the congratulations and wishes you sent on behalf of the Soviet Government to my Government, to me personally and to the whole Congolese people on the attainment and proclamation of our independence. It is the heartfelt desire of the Congolese nation and its Government to maintain cordial relations of friendship with all countries sharing its ideal of complete independence.

Please accept most sincere wishes from the Congolese people to the people of the Soviet Union and its Government.

**Patrice LUMUMBA,
Prime Minister of the Republic
of the Congo**

Leopoldville,
July 7, 1960

STOP THE COLONIALIST AGGRESSION!

**(From a Soviet Government statement
on the imperialist intervention
in the independent Republic of the Congo,
July 13, 1960)**

The independence of the Congo Republic was proclaimed on June 30, 1960, after a long and gallant struggle of the Congolese people against foreign colonialist oppressors. One of the biggest African countries with a population of over 13 million, possessing vast natural and economic resources, has joined the family of independent Af-

rican states. Like most countries, the Soviet Union has recognised the Republic of the Congo as an independent sovereign state. On July 5, the Security Council unanimously decided to recommend to the U.N. General Assembly that it admit the Congo Republic to the United Nations.

But as soon as the independence of the Congo was proclaimed, officials of the former Belgian colonial administration who had stayed behind, directly abetted by diplomatic representatives of the Western Powers—the U.S.A., Britain and France—committed acts in defiance of international law and the U.N. Charter with the object of undermining the sovereignty and abolishing the independence of the young Congolese state. A far-reaching provocation against the first all-national Government of the Congolese Republic was organised in Leopoldville, the Congolese capital, and in some of the provinces.

In some of the army camps Belgian officers, who had held posts of command in the Congolese army under the colonial regime, provoked armed actions by African soldiers, who were dissatisfied with their low standard of living and lack of rights at the time of the colonial regime. According to widely published reports, a group of Belgian officers made an attempt upon the life of Prime Minister Lumumba.

However, the provoked actions soon assumed an anti-colonial character. Belgian officers were dismissed from posts of command in the Congolese army and replaced by Congolese.

Intent on creating an artificial atmosphere they would be able to use as a pretext for armed intervention, ultra-reactionary adventurers, backed by big foreign monopolies, incited a panic among Europeans resident in the Congo. The course of events indicated that this provocation had been prepared beforehand, at the time the Belgian authorities were negotiating the granting of independence with the leaders of the Congolese people. This is also in-

dictated by the fact that at the time the events began the former Belgian colonial authorities had imported gangs of criminals and provocateurs to the bigger Congolese towns.

In the last few days the Belgian Government has, with U.S., British, West German and French collusion, undertaken direct armed intervention against the Congo Republic. In spite of determined protests by the Congolese Government, the Belgian Government has sent military units to that sovereign country, announced the mobilisation of reservist paratroopers, and is taking measures to extend the armed intervention. At present Belgian paratroopers and other military units are occupying Congolese towns.

By employing her troops in military operations on Congolese territory and sending fresh troops there in defiance of protests by the Congolese Government, Belgium is grossly violating the territorial immunity and political independence of the Congo, i.e., committing acts long qualified by international law as acts of aggression.

Furthermore, the fact that the Belgian Government is sending to the Congo NATO troops stationed in the Federal Republic of Germany once more reveals the role which the aggressive NATO bloc, acting as an international policeman, plays in the colonial oppression of the African peoples.

Not to be ignored either are the reports that Clare Hayes Timberlake, U.S. Ambassador to the Congo, is presently in Leopoldville, interfering in the internal affairs of the Congolese Republic and taking advantage of the presence of the U.N. Deputy Secretary-General, the American Bunche, to develop plans of extending the intervention of the Western Powers in the Congo under the U.N. flag.

In the meantime, much is being said of the need to protect the lives and property of Americans, Britons, Belgians and Frenchmen in the Congo.

It may be recalled, however, that the same sort of self-righteous arguments were put forward by the United States

to justify its armed intervention in the Lebanon in 1958, which was sternly condemned by an extraordinary session of the U.N. General Assembly. It should be stressed that references to the protection of the "lives of residents" in another country and to the need of enforcing "order" there are a time-worn subterfuge often used in the past by the colonial powers to camouflage armed interventions in Asian, African and Latin American countries in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. The fact that they are again resorting to such piratical artifices today clearly reveals the predatory substance of the "newfangled colonialism" practised by the United States and other imperialist powers.

No subterfuges the colonialists may employ can obscure the fact of their armed aggression in the Congo, which is a gross violation of the basic principles of the United Nations and the Bandung principles.

The Congo Government has rightly protested against the violation by foreign troops of the national sovereignty of the Congo and has warned that the Congolese people would defend their country against anyone who tries to occupy it.

Having embarked upon intervention in the Congolese Republic, the colonial powers are trying to dismember the country. A figure-head of the foreign monopolies, Tshombe, has announced the "secession" of Katanga Province from the Congolese Republic in defiance of the clearly expressed will of the Congolese people and the Fundamental Law of the Republic.

The Soviet Government deems it necessary to declare that all attempts to sever any of the provinces from the Congolese Republic are unlawful and criminal acts prompted by the selfish interests of a handful of financial and industrial tycoons of the colonial powers.

The colonialist intervention in the Congo furnishes fresh evidence that some powers, primarily the United States,

persist in following the dangerous course of aggression and provocation.

Like the other peace-loving countries, the Soviet Union emphatically condemns the perfidious aggression against the Republic of the Congo. It extends full support to the legitimate demand of the Accra and Addis Ababa conferences of independent African states and peoples for the immediate granting of independence to all the countries and peoples of Africa where the disgraceful colonial system still survives.

The Soviet Government warns of the grave responsibility which devolves upon the ruling circles of the Western Powers who have started the armed aggression in the Congo, and insists that it be stopped immediately.

The Soviet Government considers that in the current grave circumstances in the Congo, which threaten peace and the security of nations, the United Nations must take urgent steps to terminate the aggression and fully restore the sovereign rights of the independent Republic of the Congo.

EVERY POSSIBLE SUPPORT FOR THE YOUNG REPUBLIC

**(From a Soviet Government statement
on the situation in the Congo,
September 9, 1960)**

The developments in the Republic of the Congo indicate that the colonialist plot against the independence and integrity of that African country, against its people and lawful Government, is becoming increasingly dangerous. The facts, and particularly the facts of the last few days, prove incontrovertibly that the NATO allies of the Belgian colonialists, primarily the U.S.A., and the command of the troops sent to the Congo by decision of the U.N. Security

Council, who have in effect become the flunkies of the colonialists, act hand in glove with the Belgian colonialists in the attempt to rob the Congolese people of their freedom. The flagrant intervention in the domestic affairs of the Congolese Republic is, in substance, an outright mockery of the Security Council decisions taken to safeguard the independence and integrity of the Congo.

During his stay in the Congo, the U.N. Secretary-General saw fit to visit the traitor Tshombe and to negotiate with him without so much as informing the lawful Congolese Government about it. On Hammarskjöld's orders the military base of Kamina in Katanga Province, just evacuated by the Belgians, was occupied by the troops placed at the disposal of the U.N. Command. The occupation was effected on the far-fetched pretext of "neutralising" it, while it should really have been turned over to the Government of the Congolese Republic.

In spite of the fact that U.N. troops were sent to the Congo at the request of the Congolese Government and that the Security Council decisions stated clearly that they may only be used with the knowledge and consent of the Congolese Government, this important point is being continuously violated by the U.N. Command in the Congo and by Secretary-General Hammarskjöld. Far from helping the Congolese Government to restore order and bring life back to normal in the country, the U.N. representatives in the Congo are impeding its efforts in every way.

The U.N. Command has been particularly reckless in the last few days. It ordered troops operating under the United Nations flag to occupy and blockade airfields in Leopoldville, the capital of the Republic, and other Congolese towns in defiance of strong protests by the Congolese Government. Matters went so far that the U.N. Command did not allow a plane carrying the Commander-in-Chief of the Congolese National Army to land in Leopoldville. It warned that if the plane attempted a landing it would be fired upon.

The impudence of the colonialist practices exercised by the representatives sent to the Congo by Hammarskjöld truly knows no bounds. The U.N. troops defied the protests of the Government and occupied the central Leopoldville radio station. Representatives of the country's lawful Government are barred from that station.

As though that were not enough, individuals who call themselves representatives of the United Nations in the Congo went so far as to refuse to negotiate with the Congolese Government, which demanded that the airfields and the radio station be instantly cleared. Yet those representatives are in the Congo at the request of that country's Government.

The NATO countries, above all the United States, in conjunction with the U.N. Command heading the troops sent to the Congo by decision of the Security Council but used in effect to scuttle the Security Council decisions, make outright attempts to discredit the lawful Government of the Congolese Republic headed by Prime Minister Lumumba. They follow a policy of encouraging dissident anti-popular elements willing to sacrifice the country's independence and to sell its territory to please the colonialists. Use is also made of the insidious tactics of counterposing and plotting clashes between the troops placed at the disposal of the U.N. Command by various countries and the Congolese Government troops.

In substance, a coalition of colonialists has taken shape with the object of destroying the Congolese Republic, a young African state, with the hands of Africans—troops from Tunisia, Morocco, Ethiopia and Ghana. The presumptuous acts of the interventionist coalition expose its true aims. All Africa and all the world now see that an attempt is being made to replace the previous colonialists in the Congo with others in the form of a collective NATO colonialism camouflaged with the blue flag of the United Nations.

The U.N. Security Council, which has repeatedly discussed the Congo situation, has adopted sound and correct decisions designed to ensure the independence and integrity of the Congolese Republic and help the Congolese Government to bring life there, disrupted by the colonialists, back to normal. But attempts are being made today to thwart the implementation of these decisions, deceive the peoples and use against the interests of the Congo the troops made available to the U.N. Command by a number of countries.

It is beyond question that most of the countries which sent their troops to the Congo in pursuance of the Security Council decision did so with the best of intentions, eager to help preserve the freedom, independence and integrity of the Congolese state. Today, when it is increasingly evident that the present U.N. Command in the Congo is using these troops for an entirely different purpose and assisting those who had oppressed the Congo in the past and are now intent on robbing her of her independence, it is the duty of the countries that have sent troops to the Congo to see to it that their soldiers, who went to the Congo to help that country, are really used for that express purpose and assist the Government of the Congolese Republic to reinforce its country's independence in full keeping with the Security Council decisions. If the U.N. Command does not wish to act upon these decisions, they must be implemented in spite of that command.

Attention is drawn to the unseemly role assumed with respect to the Congo by U.N. Secretary-General Hammarskjöld.

There is every reason to say that the Congo developments and the participation of U.N. representatives in executing the decisions of the Security Council in relation to that country were an important test of the impartiality of the U.N. executive machinery. And it needs to be said in all frankness that the most highly placed official of that machinery, the U.N. Secretary-General, failed to show the

minimum of impartiality required of him in the prevailing circumstances. The head of the U.N. machinery turned out to be that very element of it that worked most openly in favour of the colonialists, thereby discrediting the United Nations in the eyes of the peoples.

In view of the situation prevailing in the Congo, the Soviet Government has instructed its representative in the Security Council to insist on an immediate convocation of that body in order that prompt measures can be taken to terminate all forms of interference in the internal affairs of the Congo.

The first thing to do is to withdraw the armed forces under U.N. Command from all the airfields which they now occupy. The national radio stations must be returned to the complete and unrestricted control of the Congolese Government.

The command which is using troops for purposes not provided for in the Security Council decisions must be removed.

The lawful Government of the Republic of the Congo must be enabled to exercise its sovereign rights and authority throughout the Congo without any interference or obstruction on the part of U.N. representatives.

The Soviet Government is going to insist on all this at the Security Council meeting and hopes that its efforts are supported by all countries which cherish the national independence and security of nations and do not wish to see the name of the United Nations tarnished by disgraceful complicity with the colonialists.

And should the Security Council be unable for one reason or another to perform its duty, the countries that respect the already adopted decisions concerning help to the Congo should extend every possible support to the lawful Government of the Congolese Republic in this dark hour for the Congolese people.

THE STRUGGLE OF THE CONGOLESE PEOPLE CANNOT BE STOPPED—THEY WILL WIN COMPLETE LIBERATION

(From a speech by N. S. Khrushchov
at the Fifteenth U.N. General Assembly,
September 23, 1960)

Stormy events are in progress on the African continent. The young Congolese Republic fell prey to aggression three days after it had proclaimed its independence. Before the eyes of the whole world the Belgian Government tried to rob that country of its freedom, to take away what the Congolese people have fought for selflessly for dozens of years. An international crisis arose, which revived memories of the alarming days of the Suez crisis in the autumn of 1956. The same as then, an independent African state suffered an unprovoked aggression, the recognised principles of relations between countries were flouted and a situation created fraught with a grave threat to peace not only in Africa.

How ridiculous and incongruous were the arguments the aggressors used to camouflage their actions! They alleged that "chaos" would have broken loose in the Congo if Belgian troops had not entered the country, and that the Congolese people were not yet ripe for independent life. Who would believe these claims? The Africans have a saying that "to deceive the people is the same as trying to wrap fire in paper". The armed aggression against the Congo has been condemned by all Africa, by world public opinion.

Naturally, it was not concern for the lives of Belgian citizens in the Congo, but for the far more palpable interests of the powerful monopolies entrenched upon Congolese soil, that prompted the Belgian Government to make the insane attempt to put the people of that young state on their knees and sever Katanga, their richest province,

by force. Raw materials for nuclear weapons, such as uranium, cobalt and titanium, and cheap labour are what the monopolists are afraid of losing in the Congo. That is what really lies behind the conspiracy against the Congo, whose threads stretch from Brussels to the capitals of other leading NATO countries.

When the colonialists realised that the lawfully elected Government of the Congolese Republic, invested with the confidence of the Parliament, had embarked upon a firm independent policy and was resolved to take guidance solely in the interests of the Congolese people, they drew upon all the means at their disposal to overthrow that Government. The colonialists decided to secure the creation of a puppet government that would, in effect, under the guise of being "independent", carry out their will.

The colonialists did so, as they always do, by crude methods and outright interference. Deplorably, they are doing this dirty work in the Congo with the hands of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Hammar-skjöld, and his staff.

It is a disgraceful business. The U.N. troops, sent at the request of the lawful Government to help it, have occupied airfields, seized a radio station, disorganised the life of the country and paralysed the activities of the lawful Government. These troops created the conditions for acts of treachery by the puppets in Katanga, where forces have been concentrated and mobilised against the Patrice Lumumba Government, which was elected in accordance with all the rules of democratic procedure.

The colonialists and their flunkys say that Lumumba is a Communist. He is no Communist, of course, but he is a patriot and serves his people faithfully in their struggle for liberation from colonial oppression.

But you colonialist gentlemen, with stories about Communists that befogged the minds of the peoples of the colonial countries, have, by your own acts, helped them get rid of the veil that obscured their vision. All the peo-

ples will see, and very soon, that the Communists, the Communist Parties are parties which are the true spokesmen of the will of the nations in their struggle for freedom and independence.

Some American and British periodicals, encouraged from certain quarters, are raising a hue and cry about the Soviet Union having suffered a defeat in the Congo. What can one say about these silly pronouncements?

First, we have not suffered a defeat in the Congo, and could not have suffered one, because we had no troops there and have not interfered in the least in the internal affairs of the Congo, and would never have done so. We were, are and will be in favour of the African peoples and the peoples of other continents establishing the order that suits them, the order of their choice, after they liberate themselves from colonial oppression.

Second, we have always opposed and will continue to oppose imperialist interference in the domestic affairs of countries casting off colonial dependence, and such unseemly methods as were applied in the Congo.

The colonialists are seeking to dismiss the lawful Government and Parliament with the assistance of countries which describe themselves as the free world. They want to celebrate their victory. But they celebrate it too early, because it is a Pyrrhic victory. They are helping the colonial peoples to take the wool out of their eyes, because the colonial peoples see with increasing clarity that while granting formal independence the colonialists do everything in their power to maintain their colonial oppression.

The people will not stop half-way. They will rally their forces, they will act with still greater foresight and understanding that the struggle for independence is a difficult one, that many difficulties have to be overcome along the road to genuine freedom, and they will learn to distinguish true friends from foes.

The struggle begun by the Congolese people cannot be stopped. It may be retarded and slowed down. But it will

break out with all the greater force and then the people will combat all the difficulties to win complete liberation.

The Soviet Government has always welcomed and now welcomes the struggle of the colonial peoples for independence and will do all it can to render the colonial peoples moral and material support in their righteous struggle.

LUMUMBA WILL BECOME AFRICA'S BANNER OF STRUGGLE

**(From a Soviet Government statement
on the murder of Patrice Lumumba,
February 14, 1961)**

The telegraph has brought tragic news: Patrice Lumumba, outstanding leader of the African national-liberation movement, national hero of the Congo, and Head of the Government of the independent Republic of the Congo, and his associates, Joseph Okito, President of the Senate, and Maurice Mpolo, Minister of Defence, have died at the hands of colonialist hirelings, the henchmen of the puppet Tshombe.

Together with the Congolese people and all the freedom-loving peoples of the world, the Soviet people bow their heads in memory of the valiant sons of the Congolese people, who stood firmly and consistently for their country's freedom and independence.

In connection with the massacre of the statesmen of the independent Congo, the Soviet Government considers it its duty to state the following:

The murder of Prime Minister Lumumba, President of the Senate Okito and Minister Mpolo is an international crime, for which the colonialists, and above all the Belgian colonialists, must be held fully responsible. The world is aware that the Congolese Province of Katanga, to which Patrice Lumumba, Joseph Okito and Maurice Mpolo were taken to be killed, has in effect been reoccupied by Bel-

gium and is ruled on orders from Brussels with Belgian money, Belgian arms and hundreds of Belgian officers and N.C.O.s, who form the backbone of Tshombe's armed gangs.

In their hatred of the cause of the Congo's national liberation, the colonialists went to the extent of organising the brutal murder of the lawful leaders of the Congolese state. In full view of the world they trample in the dust all standards of international law and morality, flout the U.N. resolutions and the U.N. Charter, setting at defiance all freedom-loving nations.

Surely, the Belgian colonialists would have never had the nerve to undertake all this but for the backing of their allies, a whole coalition of colonial powers, who had been egging the Belgians on to gambles in the Congo; they, too, cannot escape the full weight of responsibility for the crime.

Who does not understand that the governments of the big Western Powers have been blocking every proposal, every step to curb the aggression against the Congo and protect the rights of the Congo's legally constituted Government and Parliament? Everyone knows that a word from these governments to their retainer Hammarskjöld would have sufficed to turn the course of events in the Congo and save the life of the Congolese national hero. The crime was deliberate; it was planned step by step and was in fact sanctioned in the very capitals of the states responsible for the criminal aggression against the Republic of the Congo.

This grave colonialist crime cannot be left unpunished. The hirelings who shed the blood of Patrice Lumumba and his associates must be severely punished. The nations will call the Belgian Government to account for its part in this heinous crime; their contempt and wrath will brand the murderers and organisers of the crime. In Africa the assassins have merely fanned the sparks of burning hatred that will flame in the hearts of many an African generation.

The tragic death of Patrice Lumumba and his associates has revealed with renewed force the disgraceful role played in Congolese affairs by U.N. Secretary-General Hammarskjöld and his subordinates in command of the troops sent to the Congo on behalf of the United Nations. From the day the so-called "U.N. operation" was launched in the Congo, Hammarskjöld acted in the interests of her enemies—the Belgian and other colonialists. Hammarskjöld's policy in relation to the lawful Lumumba Government—and it was at the request of that Government that U.N. forces were sent to the Congo—has from beginning to end been a foul betrayal of the Congolese people's interests, U.N. principles and the elementary rules of common decency and honour. Under the mask of impartiality, the U.N. Secretary-General helped the colonialists to dismember and disorganise the Congolese state and to arm foreign mercenaries and executioners.

From the U.N. discussion of this question it was evident that the colonialists had made a dirty deal with Hammarskjöld, who, as a result, purposely delayed giving protection to the lawful Government and Parliament of the Congo. He did nothing to save the legally elected leaders of the Congolese people when the Prime Minister and other members of the Government and Parliament of the Congo were seized by the hirelings of the Belgian colonialists, incarcerated and subjected to inhuman torture, and when it was clear to the world that their lives were in peril. It was clear to everyone that in the planned assassination of the Prime Minister of the Congo Hammarskjöld was assigned the role of colonialist agent with the U.N. flag in his hands.

Hammarskjöld's criminal activity culminated in the murder of Patrice Lumumba and his associates in a Katanga torture chamber. All honest men realise that the hands of this colonialist servitor are stained with the blood of Patrice Lumumba, and that it cannot be washed away. States which value the prestige of the United Nations and

its future will not put up with the practice of having this organisation represented in international affairs by a pitiful lackey of the colonialists. His actions are a disgrace to the United Nations. Such a man cannot be trusted at all; what is more, he deserves to be treated with scorn by all honest men. The high post of U.N. Secretary-General is no place for Hammarskjöld and his continued tenure of that office cannot be tolerated.

The Congolese people are continuing their struggle for freedom, to restore the independence of the Republic of the Congo. The blood of Patrice Lumumba will become the banner of this struggle and, it can be said with confidence, will rouse new national-liberation forces in the Congo and the whole of Africa.

MRS. OPANGA PAULINE LUMUMBA

Leopoldville

I share your grief in the bereavement that has befallen your family and the entire Congolese people—the tragic death at the hands of the enemies of the Republic of the Congo of your husband, Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba, the national hero of the Congolese people. The memory of his great patriotic achievement will live for ever in the hearts of Soviet people. You may rest assured that the family of Patrice Lumumba will always have the most sincere sympathy and support from the Soviet Union and its Government.

With profound respect,

N. S. KHRUSHCHOV,
Chairman of the Council of
Ministers of the U.S.S.R.

Moscow,
February 14, 1961